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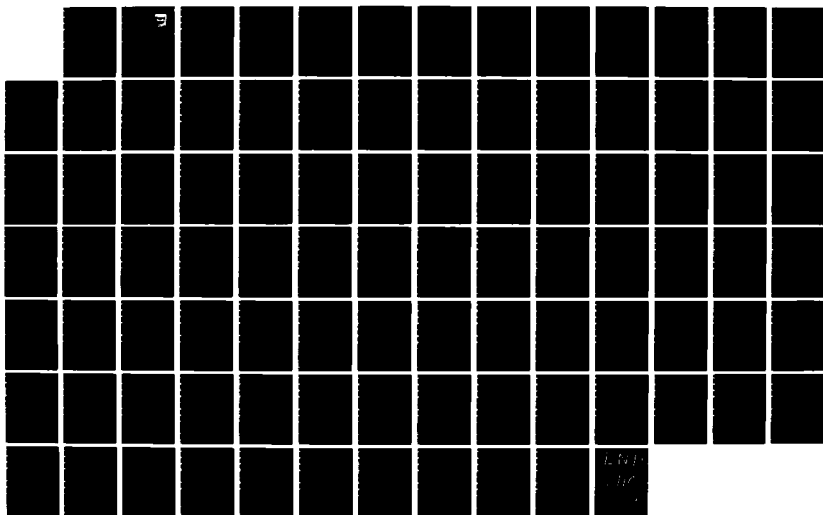
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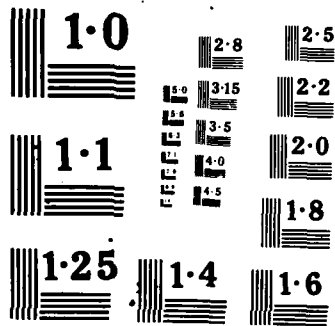
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STUDENT ESSAY

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local or state authorities. Little information is available on the activities of the Pennsylvania Emergency Militia regiments which were formed in June-July 1863 and, in some cases, participated in these skirmishes. Because the Emergency units were activated for such short periods of time, they seem to have produced few official records, leaving historians little to work with.

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USAWC MILITARY STUDIES PROGRAM PAPER

SKIRMISHING AROUND CARLISLE - 1063

INDIVIDUAL ESSAY

by

Mr. Raymond N. Clark, DAC

**Professor Morten J. Luvaas
Project Adviser**

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**US Army War College
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ABSTRACT

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The purpose of this paper is to clarify and document several small skirmishes that took place in and around Carlisle, Pennsylvania during June - July 1863 when military forces under the command of Confederate Generals Ewell and Stuart occupied the area. Data was gathered using a literature search, map studies, archive searches, and terrain walks. Because these skirmishes took place shortly before the Gettysburg Battle they have not been well documented by historians nor have the sites been preserved by local or state authorities. Little information is available on the activities of the Pennsylvania Emergency Militia regiments which were formed in June-July 1863 and, in some cases, participated in these skirmishes. Because the Emergency units were activated for such short periods of time, they seem to have produced few official records, leaving historians little to work with.



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PREFACE

This Individual Essay was produced under the aegis of the US Army War College Military Studies Program. The scope and general methodology were stipulated in the Army War College guide, AY 86 Military Studies Program. The subject matter of this historical paper was elected because of the lack of dependable readily available information on the Confederate invasion and occupation of the Carlisle area. Research was conducted in libraries of the Carlisle area and in the US Army History Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. The guidance, comments, and assistance of Dr. Morten J. Luvaas, Professor of Military History, US Army War College; Dr. Richard J. Sommers, Archivist, US Army Military History Institute; Professor Jim Hanlon, English Department, Shippensburg University; and all the library personnel of the US Army War College, the US Army Military History Institute, and the Hamilton Library and Historical Association of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania is gratefully acknowledged by the author of this paper.

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SKIRMISHING AROUND CARLISLE - 1863

Commanding General, Department of the
Susquehanna telegram of June 22, 1863 to the
Secretary of War:

"... You will readily understand what kind of force I
have, when a few regiments with a sprinkling of
nine-months' men in them, are the veterans... My
little artillery is all raw; my cavalry the same... I
speak of the quality and condition of my troops, in
order that you may not wonder why I do not boldly
face them against the rebels in the Cumberland
Valley...."

Secretary of War telegram of June 22, 1863 to the
Commanding General, Department of the
Susquehanna:

"Do you need any more staff officers? The
Department desires to afford you every assistance
within its means." ¹

I

By early summer 1863 the cry "the Rebels are coming" had been heard so often by the residents of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, that the warning had long since lost its effect. Carlisle, the seat of Cumberland County, was then a quiet rural borough of 5,600 hard working people, nestled in the pleasant Cumberland Valley. Settled in 1750, the town depended for its livelihood upon farming and limited manufacturing, and by many small iron industries in the nearby low-lying mountains. Carlisle enjoyed rapid access to the outside world due to its location at the junction of two main roads: the Carlisle-Baltimore Turnpike and the Valley Turnpike, which approximates present day Route 11. Carlisle was also served by the Cumberland Valley Railroad. Therefore, the town was a strategic location, an inviting military target.

When the Civil War erupted in 1861, Carlisle's men enthusiastically

answered the Union call for volunteers. Like most people in the North, they expected the rebellion to be over quickly, so they would soon return home. Patriotic crowds of friends and relatives watched proudly as several locally recruited companies - the Sumner Rifles, the Carlisle Fencibles, the Carlisle Guards, and the Carlisle Light Infantry - marched away to fight for the Northern cause. By 1863, however, as the war dragged on without an end in sight, enthusiasm in Carlisle as well as much of the North had waned. The published lists of casualties became longer and more frequent.² On Main (High) Street residents and shoppers watched with a sense of uneasiness as day and night trains rushed fresh troops with their horses and military equipment south toward new battles. Likewise northbound trains were jammed with sick and wounded soldiers, dispirited southern prisoners of war, and civilians fleeing from the battles. By the hot summer of the third year of the war, local farmers and merchants strove to meet the ever increasing requests from the government for locally produced supplies of military shoes, hay, grain, and lumber, iron products; as well as hundreds of horses and mules to supply the Union forces.

All the invasion jitters and uncertainty culminated in June when General Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia finally invaded the state and advanced rapidly up the Cumberland Valley toward Harrisburg, the state capital and an important rail center. Carlisle, in the middle of the valley, lay directly in the path of the advancing Confederate Army. A clash of large Union and Confederate forces was inevitable, conceivably in or around Carlisle. Lee's forces advanced confidently up the Valley against light resistance, taking food, horses, cattle and supplies. The small Union forces who dared to challenge them were quickly overwhelmed. In Carlisle, a committee of leading

citizens met on June 19th to plan the defense of the town by forming local militia companies; the volunteers, who until the invasion started had taken the threat half-heartedly, prepared in earnest to defend the town. About twenty young men from Dickinson College, a small school located in Carlisle, volunteered for active service after learning of the invasion. The stream of frightened refugees fleeing through the town from the south, with their meager baggage, household goods, and herds of cattle, increased to a torrent. Among the refugees were many blacks fleeing capture and deportation to the South. Carlisle was not the only town in the Valley facing these problems, as a story from Harrisburg on June 15th by Charles Carleton Coffin, War Correspondent for the Boston Journal reports:

The railroad stations were crowded with an excited people - men, women and children - with trunks, boxes, bundles, packages tied up in bed-blankets and quilts, mountains of baggage, tumbling into the cars, rushing here and there in a frantic manner, shouting, screaming as if the Rebels were about to dash into town and lay it in ashes.³

Prudent Carlisle citizens started burying their silver, hiding their valuables, and sending their women folk to safer places in the east. Shades were drawn in many houses to give the appearance of "not at home"; cattle and horses were driven into the nearby mountains and secluded valleys to hide them from the invaders. "Drive the enemy from our soil," was the battle cry in '62, War Correspondent Coffin wrote, but in '63 it was, "Where shall we hide our goods?"⁴ By June 19th the Cumberland Valley Railroad had collected and moved its excess engines, rolling stock, and machinery east of the Susquehanna River, where they would be safe from capture or destruction but

still accessible to the needs of the Union army.

Carlisle Barracks, a small military post in northeast Carlisle, already enjoyed a long and interesting history as the second oldest Army installation (after West Point) in the United States. Originally called "the camp near Carlisle", a fort was established in 1757 by the British Army on land owned by William Penn to protect the local settlers against Indian attacks. By 1776 the camp was in ruins, roofs had fallen in and the walls used as firewood. An entrenchment protecting the fort had been filled in by the elements. In that year the fort was rebuilt, larger and better fortified. In a patriotic gesture, it was named Washingtonburg for General George Washington. A powder magazine on the post is believed to have been built in 1777 by Hessian prisoners of war captured at Trenton. The powder magazine was used later as a guard house (which serves now as the the post museum). After the Revolutionary War the post was virtually abandoned by the fledgling government. Dr. Charles Nisbet, the first President of Dickinson College, lived on the grounds for eight years while unsuccessfully attempting to acquire the land and few buildings for his school.⁵ In 1791 the regular army reclaimed the post. In 1794, during the so-called Whiskey Rebellion, between 10,000 and 14,000 Militia were assembled at the post and in Carlisle. on October 4th, President Washington arrived and took command of this Army, more men than he ever controlled during the Revolution. Within a week Washington and his force set off from Carlisle for western Pennsylvania, where they soon quelled the uprising.

Washingtonburg was purchased for \$604.20 from the heirs of William Penn in 1801 by the federal government as the result of a compromise in the tug-of-war between Pennsylvania and New York over where the new military

academy would be located.⁶ New York won the location with West Point, but Pennsylvania got a regular army post. Around 1807 Carlisle Barracks was given its present name. Off and on over the next thirty years the post was placed in caretaker status by the Army as needs changed. For a brief period in 1828 the post was shared with Navy recruiters, who billeted new recruits at the Barracks and trained them on a borrowed Army cannon before they were marched to Baltimore or Philadelphia to join their ships.⁷ In 1838 Carlisle Barracks was converted to full time training when the Cavalry School was established to train recruits in Infantry as well as Cavalry tactics. The Barracks grew in size and importance until in 1861 it was the Army's foremost cavalry training post in the eastern part of the country. At the start of the Civil War the contingent of regular cavalry troops at the Barracks was transferred to an active command. Then the post was given an expanded mission: Mounted Recruiting Service - to drill, equip, and train recruits in cavalry practice; to bring whole units of artillery, cavalry, and infantry up to strength, and to resupply and retrain units after combat service had depleted their ranks.

Captain David H. Hastings, 1st U.S. Cavalry, took command of Carlisle Barracks and assumed the title of Superintendent, Headquarters, Mounted Recruiting Service on September 16, 1861. Hastings, a regular army cavalry veteran born in Ireland, with over twenty years enlisted and commissioned service - including the war with Mexico - came to Carlisle Barracks from an assignment as adviser to Pennsylvania state authorities on organizing and mustering militia. In August he had been elected to the honorary position of Colonel of the Cavalry Regiment of the Pennsylvania Reserve Corps.⁸ He immediately leased additional land to train and drill the large number of

troops placed under his control; eventually the post extended from its previous boundary (Garrison Lane) southward nearly to Louthier Street. Hastings built additional wooden stables for the horses and erected several barracks and tents to house the large numbers of men who continually arrived at the post for training. Understrength units scheduled for training or retraining at Carlisle Barracks regularly visited the surrounding farms and villages to recruit men to fill out their depleted ranks.

The Barracks, in addition to its training mission, also procured and shipped mules, horses, and their forage for the Union Army. As the war continued, procurement became a critical part of the post's mission. "Major" Michael Sanno, a veteran of the War of 1812 and a well-known character at Carlisle Barracks, served as post Wagon and Barracks Master. During his long service at the post Sanno had been given the additional duties of Forage Master whenever troops occupied the post.⁹

Civilians from the community took pride and interest in visiting the Post to watch the horses training and jumping, to meet with the soldiers, and to watch the daily Retreat or the Sunday afternoon parades. The large number of troops in the town sometimes led to incidents with local authorities, but relations remained good. Units from the post were often encountered training on country roads or on the Pike, or picking up supplies at the railway stations. Officers from the Barracks were openly welcomed into the local homes for dinner and conversation.

Reacting to Lee's invasion, Pennsylvania's Governor Andrew G. Curtin issued a call on June 12, 1863, for able-bodied volunteers for the State Militia, to protect "homes, firesides, and property". Cumberland County was asked to supply 587 men for state defense.¹⁰ President Lincoln, in his

Proclamation of June 15th, called for 100,000 volunteers from the states of Maryland, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and [West] Virginia, to serve "for the duration of the emergency"; this Proclamation was supplemented with a call for 20,000 additional men from New York State. To speed up mobilization, Pennsylvania enlisted Negro troops for the first time in the Civil War.¹¹ New York State quickly rallied to the call for men by activating and sending nearly all of its well-organized Militia to Pennsylvania.

The War Department, caught without an available regular force in the path of the invasion, quickly organized two new military Departments to command the Militia and new volunteers in Pennsylvania. Several senior military officers, some of them recuperating from wounds or on sick leave in the immediate areas where the commands were formed, were appointed to the new organizations. One of the new departments, under the command of Maj Gen W. T. H. Brooks, was the Department of the Monongahela. The second, the Department of the Susquehanna, was given the responsibility for that portion of the state of Pennsylvania east of Johnstown and the Laurel Hill range of mountains, with headquarters at Chambersburg. Maj Gen Darius Nash Couch (USMA-1846), an Artillery officer who had recently commanded II Corps, Army of the Potomac, was appointed commander of the Susquehanna Department on June 10th and told to expand it into a Corps. Couch left Washington for Chambersburg the next day to organize his new headquarters but two days later moved to Harrisburg because of the Rebel drive up the valley. In an order dated June 25th, the Secretary of War directed Couch to furnish arms, ammunition, subsistence, transportation and all needed supplies (except uniforms) to any troops that might be placed under his command, regardless of their origin. This order was later amended to include issue of

uniforms.

The War Department ordered creation and assignment of the 1st and 2nd Divisions to Couch's Department - the 1st at Harrisburg and the 2nd at Philadelphia. The 2nd Division was not immediately organized because of the shortage of volunteers; the designated commander, Brig Gen Napoleon J. T. Dana, was instead sent to command the defenses of Philadelphia. Brig Gen William Farrar Smith (a USMA-1845 classmate of Jackson, Pickett, and McClellan) was appointed commander of the 1st Division on June 26th. Couch gave Smith the mission of defending the south side of the Susquehanna River, in the vicinity of Harrisburg; in effect the order meant that the 1st Division was to stop Lee's army if it reached Harrisburg. Smith, a topographical engineer, had commanded the Union's VI Corps at Fredericksburg on December 13, 1862, with the rank of Brevet Maj Gen. In the recriminations that followed that Union disaster, he made the political mistake of siding against General Ambrose E. Burnside, Commander of the Army of the Potomac. Smith, who barely escaped Congressional censure and dismissal from the service, was transferred to command the IX Corps in February 1863, but in March he lost that command and reverted to the rank of Brig Gen of Volunteers when his commission as Maj Gen failed to be ratified in the Senate.¹² After arriving in Harrisburg Smith concentrated on organizing the 1st Division and preparing the defenses at Bridgeport (modern Lemoyne), Harrisburg, and Marysville to withstand the anticipated assault of the Confederate force headed in his direction. Despite his political misfortunes, Smith was an able commander, respected and well liked by his troops, who called him "Baldy".

The majority of troops assigned to the division were New York State National Guard (NYSNG) and Pennsylvania state Militia (Emergency Troops).

then in the process of being activated or recruited. The New York National Guard units had the advantage of having drilled with their officers, and most of these troops had some uniforms and equipment, since some of the men and units had been activated for short periods of wartime service in the past. As quickly as the New York units were activated, they were transported by railway baggage or box cars to Harrisburg, with some troops riding on the roofs because of over-crowded cars. Others were transported by ship to Philadelphia and then by train the remainder of the way. Recruiting officers remained on duty at the home stations to continue filling any remaining openings in the activated units. A total of 15,798 volunteers assigned to twenty-six regiments of NYSNG and miscellaneous smaller units were dispatched for combat, most to Harrisburg, but some to other parts of Pennsylvania and to Maryland.¹³ Of these, about 6,000 men with various length-of-service obligations were sent from New York City and Brooklyn to Harrisburg, most were assigned to the 1st Division.

Activation of New York's 22nd Infantry Regiment indicates how quickly the NYSNG responded to the emergency: it was called to serve on June 22nd, rushed from New York City to Harrisburg by box car, mustered in for thirty days' federal service at Camp Russell (between Lemoyne and New Cumberland) on the 24th, and fought its initial skirmish on the 29th. However, New Jersey sent only the 23rd Regt, an infantry battalion, and a few independent companies, the regiment was withdrawn after three days of guard duty at Harrisburg.

In contrast to the partially trained New York National Guard troops, the Pennsylvania Emergency Troops, with few exceptions, were raw recruits who volunteered to serve only for the duration of the immediate emergency. Most

of the Pennsylvania units were formed without weapons, uniforms or equipment and were staffed with inexperienced officers. They could be compared to the Minutemen of the American Revolution.

On June 16th Pennsylvania started forming twenty-eight regiments of infantry and several independent companies and batteries to meet the crisis. Twenty-three regiments were assigned to the Department of the Susquehanna; of these, eleven regiments - 9,243 men - were assigned to Harrisburg.¹⁴ Most of the Pennsylvania troops initially sent to defend Harrisburg came from the Philadelphia area and travelled to Harrisburg on foot or by train. Among the volunteers from Harrisburg was a small but intensely patriotic seventeen-man company of veterans of the War of 1812; the youngest man in the unit was over sixty-five. These veterans followed the same flag that had been carried by Pennsylvania troops at the Battle of Trenton in 1776.¹⁵

All Pennsylvania units, except the 32nd Regt, were state Emergency Troops. Upon arrival at Harrisburg they were sworn in to US Service for the duration of the emergency. The 32nd Regt, originally recruited for 90 days of State Service, arrived in Harrisburg on June 16th but refused to be sworn in to US Service. The men of the 32nd asked for the same terms of enlistment as those of the other activated Philadelphia units. Their bargaining with Couch, Curtin, and the War Department went on until June 28th, when they were finally sworn in to Federal service-- but only after receiving an express promise from Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton that they could return home when the immediate emergency had passed.

An excellent example of Militia unpreparedness but willingness to fight was the case of Company A, 1st Artillery Regiment (First Philadelphia Battery Light Artillery), Philadelphia Home Guard Brigade (popularly known as

the Landis Light Battery for its commander, Captain Henry D. Landis). The battery was hastily formed by combining two inactive militia batteries. The men had some rudimentary artillery knowledge learned from manuals, but they had no training with guns or horses. The Landis battery was composed mainly of Philadelphia lawyers, many of them prominent both socially and professionally. While not up to the usual military standards in other respects, they were, in their own words, "great on papers."¹⁶ The battery was activated for thirty days service on June 27th and ordered to proceed immediately by rail to Harrisburg, despite never having drilled with an artillery piece. Not one of the 116 men in the battery knew how to harness or drive the horses; no blacksmith was assigned; there were no spare parts or supplies, and the battery had no cannon or ammunition. Nevertheless, dressed in their jaunty gray uniforms, Landis' battery proceeded in high spirits to Harrisburg to join Smith's Division, studying their artillery manuals on the way. At Harrisburg the battery was issued six three-inch ordnance rifles which were being used in the static defenses of the city. After joining the division the men learned their artillery skills at night by taking instruction from Lieut Rufus King, Jr., 4th US Arty, an experienced regular army officer who was assigned to the division staff.

In general, most of the militia units from both states were ill equipped, untrained, and poorly led. Despite their problems, the men were confident and highly motivated, more so than knowledgeable and experienced troops would have been under the circumstances. Since the majority of units were infantry, Couch's command was to suffer throughout the campaign from a shortage of artillery and cavalry, which definitely limited his plans and operational options.

About 8,000 of the men mobilized at Harrisburg from the two states were eventually assigned to the 1st Division. Smith organized the division as regiments arrived into six numbered brigades: the 1st (8th, 71st NYSNG Regts), commanded by Brig Gen Joseph F. Knipe, US Volunteers; the 2nd (13th, 28th, 68th NYSNG Regts) by Brig Gen Philip S. Crooke, NYSNG; the 3rd (23rd, 52nd, 56th NYSNG Regts) by Brig Gen Jesse C. Smith, NYSNG; the 4th (11th, 22nd, 37th NYSNG Regts) by Brig Gen John Ewen, NYSNG; the 5th (28th, 32nd, 33rd PA Militia Regts) by Col William Brisbane, PA Militia; and the 6th (27th PA Militia Regt) by Col Jacob G. Frick, PA Militia. Major John E. Wynkoop, 7th PA Cavalry, was appointed Division Chief of Cavalry to oversee the employment of Capt William H. Boyd's, Capt David H. Hasting's, and Lieutenant Frank Stanwood's units; Lieutenant Charles P. Muhlenburg, 5th US Artillery, the Division Chief of Artillery, coordinated the employment of Capt Benoni Frishmuth's, Capt Henry D. Landis', and Capt Elihu Spencer Miller's horse drawn batteries. Capt Marcus A. Reno, Cavalry, [who later served in the west with Custer] was assigned as Smith's Chief of Staff. The long bearded Knipe, still recovering from a wound received at Chancellorsville, was eventually appointed as deputy to General Smith. With his beard, Knipe unwittingly heeded the advice of cavalry sergeants to recruits: let the beard grow to protect the throat from the blade.

The 22nd, 37th, and a detachment of the 12th NYSNG Regts would play key roles in the July 1st defense of Carlisle. Philadelphia units that shared the honor of defending Carlisle were the 28th and 32nd Militia Infantry Regiments (Gray Reserves), Capt Landis' Light Artillery Battery, and Capt Boyd's Co C, 1st Regt (Lincoln) New York Cavalry.¹⁷ Regular Army 1st Cavalry troops from Carlisle Barracks also helped defend the town.

Stanwood's Regulars provided cavalry support to the division during the skirmishes in the valley as well as at Carlisle. The Regulars were a small mounted force led by Lieut Stanwood, 3rd US Cav, a regular officer from Carlisle Barracks. His highly active troops were regular army cavalry recruits who had enlisted at that post in June but had not yet received uniforms or training.

As units arrived in Harrisburg on foot and by rail during the second and third weeks of June, they were met by officers from Couch's staff and marched a mile and a half north of the city to Camp Curtin, a tent city used since 1861 for recruits and new units. There they were given rudimentary instructions in organizing their units and setting up bivouac areas, followed by a smattering of military training. After a brief organizational period for learning the basics of soldiering, those assigned to the 1st Division were transferred to either Fort Couch or Fort Washington, across the Susquehanna River from Harrisburg. Soldiers crossing the Camelback Bridge to either of the forts were required to pay a toll, the same as any traveler.

Harrisburg lies in the flood plain on the East Shore of the Susquehanna River and the city is dominated by the heights on the West Shore. To try to use the river as a moat, Couch would have had to abandon those heights to the enemy. Rather than yield the Confederates such an overwhelming advantage, Couch sought to protect the city by himself fortifying those heights.

Fort Washington, which had been given its name by Couch in his General Order Number 3, was a new earthen defensive position of approximately sixty acres on Hummel Heights, about a half mile from the smaller Fort Couch. (Hummel Heights is present day Washington Heights in Lemoyne - part of the ruins of Fort Couch can be seen at the juncture of 8th Street and Indiana

Avenue). Fort Washington was being fortified to control the railroad bridge, the Camelback wagon bridge, and the fords on the river it overlooked and dominated. Eventually it had twenty-five artillery pieces emplaced for defense of Harrisburg. These guns had never been fired by the green crews; there was a shortage of all types of ammunition; and, the ranges to obvious targets were not known. The Division Artillery Officer, Lieut Muhlenburg, worked diligently to emplace the guns at their most advantageous positions and to train the crews. Couch appointed Brig Gen William Hall, NYSNG, as the commander of Fort Washington, but on June 27th he fell ill and was replaced by Jesse Smith and transferred across the river when he became sick to command the troops in Harrisburg. A day later, deciding that he needed a regular officer in charge of the defenses, Couch relieved Jesse Smith and added the two forts to "Baldy" Smith's command.

Supporting the two forts were several "tent" camps where most of the infantry troops were bivouacked: they were named Cameron, Couch, Haley, Taylor, and the partially fortified Camp Russell. (The difference between forts and camps was that forts had defenses while camps usually had none.)¹⁸ Some of the troops in these primitive camps were lucky enough to have tents, but many had to sleep in wooden shacks that they built from scraps of wood and tin. Others simply slept in the open. There were no sanitation facilities available and drinking water was difficult to obtain. Salesmen preyed upon the soldiers, taking advantage of their hardships by offering to sell them the basics - including drinking water - at inflated prices.¹⁹ Relations with local inhabitants were poor, partly because of the large number of troops in the area but also because of the destruction and theft of private property by the soldiers as they prepared the area for combat. When a farmer complained to

Smith that a surgeon from one of the regiments had stolen his horse, Smith replied, "Why didn't you shoot the son of a bitch?"²⁰ Since there was no where to go at night, the troops sat around their cooking fires, singing the soldier songs popular at that time: "Annie of the Vale", "Weeping Sad and Lonely", and "Poor Old Slave".

The troops worked continuously to improve the defenses of the forts by emplacing artillery pieces, by felling trees and knocking down houses to clear fields of fire, and by digging trenches and building breastworks. The construction was greatly complicated by the large numbers of refugees passing through on foot and on horseback, some had wagons or carts, others were driving flocks of sheep or herds of cattle and horses. They pressed in from the west, all wanting to cross into Harrisburg. So they blocked and jammed the Camelback Bridge and hindered the movement of the defenders.

Directly behind Fort Washington, the river was only two feet deep, with an excellent, firm bottom. This crossing site was of major concern to Couch. His plans for the defense of Harrisburg called for burning the wooden bridges across the river should Lee's army appear, with a static defense of the city from the earthen forts then under construction. In the meantime his small cavalry forces were kept constantly patrolling the approaches to the Susquehanna as the troops worked feverishly on the defensive positions.

Lee's order of June 21st to Lieut Gen Richard Stoddert Ewell, Commander of II Army Corps, was to clear the Cumberland Valley of enemy troops and take Harrisburg. On June 22nd Lee amended the order by directing Ewell to move on to the Susquehanna "If Harrisburg comes within your means, capture it!"²¹ Ewell, a grandson of Benjamin Stoddert, first secretary of the Navy, was a career cavalry officer born in Washington, D.C. He was also a recent

bridegroom at age forty-six. After graduating with the West Point class of 1840 he served briefly at Carlisle Barracks before being assigned to the frontier as a Second Lieutenant of Dragoons. Later, as a Captain, Ewell was greatly impressed by Captain Robert E. Lee during their brief duty together in the Mexican War. As a Maj Gen, Ewell had commanded a division under "Stonewall" Jackson in several major battles. He had lost his right leg on August 28, 1862, at Groveton during the second battle of Bull Run. While on convalescent leave for several months, he was fitted with a wooden leg and provided with crutches; however, the false leg was painful and awkward, of only limited use to him.

In May of 1863 Ewell returned to active duty as a Lieut Gen, commanding the II Corps. Suffering constant pain and sleepless nights from headaches, indigestion, and (probably) stomach ulcers, Ewell travelled into battle strapped to his horse.²² When combat was not expected, he rode in the back of a buggy, often poring over the maps drawn by his cartographer, Jedediah Hotchkiss. With his chivalrous fighting spirit, a sharp tongue, and unusual sense of humor, the odd looking, long nosed, pop-eyed Ewell refused to give up soldiering or retire. An outstanding brigade and division commander, Ewell was never to display the greatness of Jackson as a corps commander. A hard but fair man, Ewell was known to his men affectionately as "Old Bald Head".

To perform reconnaissance during the push into the north Brig Gen Albert Gallatin Jenkin's Brigade of Virginia Cavalry was attached to Ewell's Corps from Jeb Stuart's Cavalry Division. The brigade consisted of about 1500 Cavalry troops (14th, 16th, 17th VA. Cav Regts and 34th VA. Cav Bn) supported by Capt William Hunter Griffin's 2nd Maryland (Baltimore Light) Horse Artillery Battery. As the spearhead of the Corps, they were

continuously on the move ahead and on the flanks searching for Union forces. Jenkins's force raided the countryside and systematically destroyed the tracks and bridges of the Cumberland Valley Railroad. In fact, after the invasion the railroad was so thoroughly damaged south of Carlisle that at first it was thought impractical to rebuild.²³

Although searching for Union troops was their main objective, the mounted troops also combed the countryside for booty for themselves and for shipment back to Virginia. Jenkins's Brigade wholeheartedly complied with Stuart's instructions that the best horses be kept for the division's own troops, and, in accordance with General Lee's order, they diligently paid for requisitioned material with southern script.

In Maryland and Pennsylvania lay hordes of food, herds of horses, mules, and beef cattle; stores full of clothing and shoes for the taking - providing Lee's men could move fast enough and the Union forces continued to fail to respond. By June 18th, Ewell's Corps had captured more than 4,000 Union prisoners, 30 pieces of artillery, 250 wagons, 20 ambulances, 400 horses, and a large supply of ammunition.²⁴ Suspected runaway slaves and some blacks born in the North who were unlucky enough to be caught by these troops were promptly sent to the South under guard.

On June 19th, while the Department of the Susquehanna was still organizing, Couch ordered the first two regiments that had arrived in Harrisburg (8th and 71st NYSNG) to proceed by train to Shippensburg, there they were to attempt to slow the enemy's advance. They departed from Harrisburg at 7 PM, arriving at Shippensburg the next morning at 7 AM, where they took up defensive positions to wait and see what developed. At about 11 PM that night Brig Gen Kripe arrived from Harrisburg to take command of the

small force; his orders from Couch were to delay the enemy where possible but not engage him in decisive battle. If pressed, they were to retire slowly while harassing him all the while. Knipe's delaying action would enable Couch to finish the defenses of Harrisburg and give the farmers who were further up the valley time to hide their stock. Knipe's force was reinforced at Shippensburg with a Naval Artillery Battery from Philadelphia, Boyd's Cavalry Company, Stanwood's Regulars, plus a company of military hospital patients from York.²⁵ By telegraph Knipe received a change of orders from Couch to lead one of the regiments to the nearby town of Scotland to repair a bridge that had been burned by the Rebels. The regiment proceeded on the 21st by train to Scotland and rebuilt the bridge as ordered; however, in a subsequent brush with the enemy they performed poorly - panicking and losing several of their men as prisoners. Both regiments moved on foot and by rail to Chambersburg on the 22nd, there Knipe set up a hasty defense, changed his mind, and withdrew again to defensive positions at Shippensburg.

On June 23rd, Knipe, about to be overwhelmed at Shippensburg by Maj Gen Robert Emmett Rodes' Infantry Division from Ewell's Corps, prudently withdrew his infantry and artillery by rail to Carlisle. After arriving in Carlisle late in the evening, some of the troops slept in the railway cars, while others bivouacked for the night on the [old] fair grounds [present Masland factory grounds]. The Naval Artillery Battery was replaced in Carlisle by Capt Miller's Philadelphia Independent Battery,²⁶ which was armed with four navy 12-pounders and two rifled pieces. Knipe started constructing hasty barricades and digging rifle pits on Walnut Bottom Road for the 8th Regt and on the Chambersburg Pike for the 71st Regt, using both his own troops and local civilians. Lt Col John Lee and about 200 men from Carlisle "Home Guard

" companies commanded by Captains Martin Kuhn, John S. Low, A. Brady Sharp, David Black, and Robert Smiley joined Knipe's forces and prepared to give battle. These officers had all served previous tours of active duty during the war; Porter had returned from nine months active duty with the 130th Regiment in May. Several recruits in these militia units were over sixty-five years of age. On June 25th Knipe decided to move the two regiments and supporting artillery pieces forward to better positions a mile west of town at Rocky Ridge.

With the withdrawal of Knipe's infantry and artillery troops to the Carlisle area, Boyd's cavalry company remained the only Union force operating south of town. Boyd's mission of monitoring and reporting the movements of the Confederates to Couch kept him in close contact with the approaching forces. After reporting that a large Confederate force, three or four times that of the defenders, was only four miles from Carlisle, Boyd slowly withdrew his company into town.

Upon hearing of the enemy's strength, Knipe decided that his force of green troops was no match for the Rebels. He withdrew eastward through Carlisle at 9 PM on the 25th to New Kingston (New Kingstown), remaining there through the 26th. On that date he withdrew his force further east on the Harrisburg Pike to Sporting Hill (about four miles from Fort Washington), where they met and joined with the 11th and 23rd Regts, NYSNG. On the 26th, he finally withdrew the entire force into the defenses at Bridgeport. At noon on the 28th Smith appointed Knipe commander of Forts Washington and Couch, in addition to his other duties.

Knipe was credited by Couch with skillfully using his green troops to confront and slow Ewell's superior forces for nearly nine days, over a

distance of fifty-two miles. During this time Knipe had lost a total of seventy-two men as prisoners; but, by using the telegraph facilities in the towns through which his troops withdrew, he managed to keep Couch informed of the Confederate moves. Couch, in turn, had been able to keep the War Department in Washington informed of the progress of the leading elements of Lee's Army. Though he could not stop them, Knipe did his best to hinder the Confederates while collecting and reporting information on Ewell's movements in the Cumberland Valley. While Knipe was delaying Ewell, the defenses of Harrisburg were steadily improved and the command increased in strength. The ability of Couch to improve the defenses of Harrisburg was in great part due to Knipe's improvised brigade of recruits.

At Carlisle Barracks Hastings prepared to withdraw his troops and supplies before capture. Common sense told him his small force could not defend the post or Carlisle against the approaching Confederate Corps. His wife and children had already been sent to Wilkes-Barre for safety. On June 25th, along with five of his officers and 266 enlisted men, he took what munitions, movable Government property and records they could transport from the post and proceeded to Harrisburg, where they joined Smith's command.²⁷ Carlisle Barracks was left abandoned to the fortunes of war.

Boyd also withdrew his covering force eastward under pressure on the 25th. The Carlisle militia companies, left without support, dispersed. Carlisle was left completely defenseless. With Confederate forces at the outskirts of Carlisle, the last trains departed from town to the east, carrying merchants' goods, public documents, and civilians seeking to escape the anticipated battle. Carts, wagons, horses, people on foot, herds of cattle -- all streamed eastward from Carlisle to escape the enemy bearing down upon

the town.

With mounting apprehension, Carlisle residents watched the roads leading from the south for the remainder of June 25th and all day on the 26th. But no enemy was seen. A cautious man, Ewell had halted to consolidate his forces and bring up his support before making his next move. Saturday, June 27th dawned in mist, the roads muddy as a result of rain during the night. Although Saturday was the traditional market day in town, few businesses opened, those that did open closed leaving the streets of Carlisle nearly deserted.

II

Colonel William M. Penrose, a lawyer and public official and Assistant Burgess [Councilman] Robert Allison - hoping to save Carlisle from unnecessary bombardment - rode out to meet the Confederate forces. They met with Jenkins, the commander of the lead unit, to arrange a peaceful surrender of the town. Jenkins, a former United States Representative from Virginia (1857-1861) with the distinction of having also served as a Representative from his state to the First Confederate Congress, was wearing a handsome uniform, ornate with the gold braid of his rank; he was also mounted on a splendid bay horse, which made him appear taller than his medium height. Jenkins accepted their offer of peaceful occupation of Carlisle. At 10 AM he led his muddy troops into town -- about 800 cavalry followed by the horse artillery. They arrived in three columns on the Walnut Bottom, Chambersburg, and Newville roads. Jenkins detached a cavalry unit and sent it out Louther Street to occupy Carlisle Barracks. Accompanied by some of his officers, Jenkins then rode to the Public Square, where they dismounted and asked for an immediate meeting with Borough authorities. Jenkins presented Chief Burgess Andrew Zeigler and the Town Council with a

demand for 1500 rations and forage for his horses; these supplies were to be delivered within one hour at the Market in the Public Square. Fearing reprisals, the officials quickly collected and delivered the food as ordered. Jenkins and his officers and some of his men thus enjoyed their lunches and packed the remaining food in their saddle bags. The officers then took a leisurely ride about town.²⁸

At about 2 PM Jenkins and the remainder of his troops continued out of town on the Trindle Spring Road, probing for a few miles toward Harrisburg, before establishing camp for the night at Hickorytown. In the meantime, the remainder of the brigade which had not accompanied him into Carlisle performed flank security for the Corps columns which now occupied over fifteen miles of roads. Some of his troops were also policing the rear of the corps column because of straggler and desertion problems. One witness offers a good description of Jenkin's arrival in Carlisle:

Just about the jail corner, one block from us, an array of cavalry ranged in close formation the width of the road from curb to curb, was moving toward us slowly, the sharp clatter of their horses' hoofs the only sound to be heard. Behind a little distance came in a dense body other troops, also mounted...The advancing invaders were slow to appear at the corner; they were moving vigilantly. They had been split into two columns by the railroad embankment which, beginning half way up the square, takes up part of the middle of the street and becomes higher, as it forms lower down an approach to the long bridge over the LeTort and its shallow valley...The foremost riders appeared ready to make a charge at any instant necessary. Big men wearing broad brim hats, and mounted on good horses, they had a picturesque air of confidence and readiness for action. Their carbines they carried butt resting at the knee and

barrel pointed upright....²⁹

At noon the weather cleared and the day became warm and pleasant. Ewell and his staff, escorted by Captain Frank A. Bond's Company A, 1st Maryland (Line) Cavalry, entered town on Walnut Bottom Road at about 5 PM in the column of Rodes' Division. Not expecting combat, Ewell rode in the back of his low bodied carriage, accompanied only by his driver. Although he carried crutches with him, he had to be helped in and out of the carriage. The 6,200 Alabama, Georgia, and North Carolina infantry troops of Rodes' Division were not so impressive as Jenkins's cavalry, for they were described as ragged, shoeless and hatless, dirty and covered with vermin.³⁰ Often two soldiers rode bareback together on a large, shaggy plow horse. Toothbrushes stuck in hatbands or buttonholes and stolen civilian hats added a curious and amusing touch to the uniforms. Some of the units were accompanied by their negro servants. Rodes' column included wagons with names such as " Daniel's Brigade " or " Iverson's Brigade " stenciled on their canvas tops.

As usual when entering a Northern town, the marching troops flaunted their regimental flags; the men were cheerful, laughing and singing to their small fife and drum corps, which played "Dixie" over and over.³¹ The few spectators who watched their arrival with undisguised apprehension offered little response. The column proceeded to Carlisle Barracks, where Ewell set up his headquarters and placed the major units in defensive positions. Then he moved into Hastings' quarters (present day Quarters Number 3, home of the Carlisle Barracks Post Commander) and took a bath;³² his staff of about twenty-five occupied the nearby buildings. The troops had few tents, blankets or other conveniences, most slept on the open ground.³³

Three of Rodes' units, the North Carolina Brigades of Brig Generals Junius Daniel, Alfred Iverson, and Stephen D. Ramseur, along with the Corps Artillery

commanded by Lieut Col Thomas H. Carter, camped at Carlisle Barracks and in nearby fields. General Iverson occupied the same quarters that he had when he was stationed at Carlisle Barracks as a lieutenant of cavalry.³⁴ Col E. A. O'Neal's Alabama Brigade was sent about a mile and a half south on the Baltimore Pike to perform scouting and picket duties. Brig Gen George Dole's Brigade of Georgia Infantry camped at Dickinson College to guard the western approaches. As Dole's troops pitched their tents on the lawns, dug trenches, and cut some of the trees, a delegation from the College went to Ewell to protest. Ewell promptly enforced order at Dickinson.

The staff of Maj Gen Edward Johnson's Division of 4,600 infantry camped near McAllister Church on the Shippensburg Pike, about three miles west of Carlisle. Johnson, an 1838 Military Academy graduate, was charged with guarding the corps' wagon trains, consequently, the division was strung out some fifteen miles back over the Pike to within five miles of Shippensburg. Brig Gen George H. Steuart's Brigade of Maryland, North Carolina, and Virginia troops, which had been detached to McConnellsburg, rejoined the division at Carlisle bringing with it Northern cattle and horses.

By nightfall approximately 12,000 of the 17,400 men in Ewell's Corps were in the vicinity of Carlisle, only Maj Gen Jubal Anderson Early's 5,400 man infantry division, made up of brigades from Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, and Virginia was absent. It had been detached from the Corps at Greenwood and sent toward York by Ewell.³⁵

Several of the Confederate officers felt at home in Carlisle; a few had attended Dickinson College and some had been stationed at Carlisle Barracks. So they visited former acquaintances, more as old friends than as invaders. Some officers had taken rooms in either the Farmers and Drivers Hotel or the

Cumberland Valley Hotel, where they also took their meals and drinks. They acted as gentlemen, except when discussing Union Generals Benjamin F. Butler and Robert H. Milroy, both of whom were thoroughly despised because of their harsh treatment of Southerners.

Ewell quickly levied a requisition on the citizens of Carlisle for much needed supplies and provisions for the Confederate Army. Ewell had requisitioned supplies, with good results, in Chambersburg and Shippensburg. He demanded of Carlisle residents 25,000 pounds of bacon, 100 sacks of salt, 1,500 barrels of flour, 25 barrels of potatoes, 25 barrels of molasses, 5,000 pounds of coffee, 3,000 pounds of sugar, and 25 barrels of dried fruit.³⁶ Ewell directed that these supplies be delivered in front of the Court House at 6 PM that day. In addition to food, he asked for shoes, cooking utensils, surgical instruments, quinine, chloroform, and other drugs. When the town fathers were unable to produce all of the demanded supplies, Ewell ordered that stores and private homes be searched the following day and supplies confiscated.

Ewell issued a proclamation listing his rules of occupation; it was published by his troops on the presses of the local newspaper and posted throughout the town. Private property and persons would be unmolested except by properly designated officers; requisitions for supplies would be paid for at fair market prices; supplies would be taken if requisitions were not voluntarily filled; no intoxicating liquors would be sold without the Commanding General's written permission, and acts of impropriety on the part of Confederate soldiers would be severely punished. Relations between the occupying forces and the residents were at first reserved. An officer from O'Neal's Brigade wrote home that he found "a better class of people living

here"; but he also found a lack of pretty women - "the women having hands and feet larger than the men's".³⁷ The Confederate soldiers found the residents of Carlisle "not half so sullen as those further down the valley."³⁸ Mostly farm boys, these soldiers were not politically oriented; they were mainly interested in surviving the war and returning home. The soldiers behaved themselves in a civil manner, if for no other reason than fear of Ewell's swift and painful discipline. Most natives contacted them only casually as guards on street corners. The guards cooked and camped in the streets, however, the majority of troops were billeted away from the populated areas. Enlisted men were forbidden to move about town without written passes. Those bivouacking in the streets hauled water from the common street pumps and gathered wood for their cook fires from the telegraph poles that had been cut down to impede Union communications. After an initial cool reception from the townspeople, young boys from the town eventually broke the ice and struck up conversations while trading fresh bread with the soldiers for hardtack. Townspeople cautiously venturing from their homes soon developed amiable conversations with the soldiers camping in the streets. By nightfall some residents were marvelling at Confederate soldiers with only one arm who, despite their wounds, were kept on active duty and sent into combat.³⁹ The soldiers, meantime, wondered aloud why so many young, able bodied Northern men were not in uniform. Some of the troops found a hidden cache of whiskey in Carlisle and proceeded to drink their share, but under the watchful scrutiny of their officers.

Members of the local clergy called upon Ewell at his headquarters on Saturday to ask permission to hold church services the next day. After receiving his approval, they asked if he had objections to their praying for the

President of the United States. Ewell is quoted as replying, " Certainly not, pray for him. I'm sure he needs it."⁴⁰

John Cabell Early, a fifteen-year-old nephew of General Early arrived at Ewell's headquarters wearing a gray uniform made for him by his mother. He came from Lynchburg, Virginia to serve his uncle as a messenger or orderly. Ewell, fearing to send him alone through enemy territory to join his uncle, kept the lad with him, keeping him busy climbing after fruit in trees. Young Early later said that he did not see how so small a man could eat so many cherries.⁴¹

That evening Ewell sent his card and a note to several old acquaintances in Carlisle. He assured them that they were safe and that strict discipline of his troops would be maintained. To show that he meant business Ewell had four soldiers from Rodes' Division tied together and marched around Carlisle with signs on their backs which read, "These men have disgraced themselves by pillaging women's gardens". The four were proceeded by a band playing "The Rogue's March."⁴²

On Sunday the troops carried out the searches for food and supplies as ordered by Ewell. Enlisted men searched for arms and provisions under the supervision of their officers; they were preceded by prominent citizens who called upon owners to show no opposition. Citizens noted that the soldiers appeared to have been informed in advance of where caches of food were hidden. Supplies of food and clothing were also "bought" from stores and businesses. One owner died from a heart attack while his goods were being confiscated. Herds of cattle, horses, sheep, and hogs, plus large stores of requisitioned grain and flour, were sent to the rear to be used by Lee's Army or sent to the South.

The congregations of the First Lutheran and Second Presbyterian Churches were surprised to find a few Confederate soldiers attending services with them. However, many parishioners missed the services, staying at home to protect their belongings from the troops carrying out the search and confiscation program. Church services were also held by the troops at Dickinson College. At Carlisle Barracks, the Reverend Beverly Tucker Lacy, unofficial Chaplain General of the Corps, preached twice.⁴³

Ewell stopped at Carlisle to rest and resupply his troops in preparation for the major battle he envisioned at Harrisburg. Lee's June 22nd letter to Ewell had directed that Early's division cut the Central railroad at York and destroy the bridge across the Susquehanna at Wrightsville. Ewell incorporated Lee's instructions into his own plan for the capture of Harrisburg. Early's Division would cross the Susquehanna at Wrightsville, capture Lancaster and sever the main railway line connecting Philadelphia with the west, then move parallel to the Susquehanna and attack Harrisburg from the rear while Rodes, moving from Carlisle, would attack it from the front.

The troops in Carlisle spent the day attending to familiar bivouac chores: writing to loved ones, taking care of personal hygiene, washing and repairing clothing and equipment, oiling weapons, sharpening sabers, shoeing and grooming horses and mules, repairing harnesses and saddles, repairing wagons, limbers, caissons, and cannons, baking hard-tack, and butchering over 90 cattle in the nearby fields. Distribution of mail, newly arrived from Richmond, was a great morale booster for the men, many of whom were homesick.

I wish I was in de land ob cotton,
Old times dar am not forgotten.⁴⁴

In the stables at Carlisle Barracks the Confederate soldiers found a large quantity of badly needed feed grain; their horses and mules had lived off grass and hay since leaving Virginia and were in poor physical condition. In the Barracks they also found musketoons [short muskets with large bores], holsters and tents, plus a moderate amount of food.⁴⁵ Twenty-six year old Brig Gen Ramseur (USMA-1860) - a former artillery officer commanding a brigade of North Carolina infantry in Rodes Division - wrote to his wife that he had found Carlisle Barracks particularly well stocked and had dined upon salmon-on-ice for breakfast one morning.⁴⁶ In Carlisle Rodes and members of his staff sampled the Pennsylvania larger beer and found it good but strong.

Ewell directed his Corps Engineer, Capt H. B. Richardson, to accompany Jenkins on a reconnaissance of the Harrisburg defenses and to report back to him the next day. Jenkins immediately assembled his brigade and pushed forward to the outskirts of Mechanicsburg. Stopping at the edge of town, he had Griffin, commander of his supporting artillery battery, set up his guns to cover a courier who rode into town to demand its surrender. When startled Town Burgess George Hummel arrived to parley, Jenkins informed him that he would buy 1500 rations from the citizens, paying in script. When Hummel protested because of the difficulty of collecting such a large quantity of food from so small a town on a Sunday, Jenkins suggested that his troops collect it themselves. Hummel, realizing the consequences, induced the citizens to produce the rations.⁴⁷ After dining at the Ashland House, Jenkins rode out to visit Colonel Milton J. Ferguson's 16th VA Cavalry, supported by Griffin's Battery, encamped near Orr's Bridge. While they were in the vicinity of Salem Church, Ferguson's men were fired upon by the 71st Regt, NYSNG, located on nearby Sporting Hill. Griffin's Battery immediately returned the fire and drove

the Union troops back, pursuing the 71st men three miles to Camp Hill and inflicting several casualties upon them.

At the direction of Knipe, Lieut Col John Elwell of the 22nd Regt formed a NYSNG composite force consisting of fifty men each from the 8th, 23rd, and 56th Regts, reinforced by the 11th Regt; Elwell and his force proceeded to Oyster Point Station where it encountered Lieut Col V. A. Witcher's 34th VA Cavalry Bn from Jenkins' Brigade. A fierce fire fight broke out with both sides suffering several wounded before each side withdrew.⁴⁸

Jenkins accompanied Colonel James Cochran's 14th VA Cavalry, supported by Captain Thomas Jackson's Artillery Battery, on a reconnaissance mission east and parallel to Trindle Road toward the Susquehanna, staying to the right of the road. They thoroughly reconnoitered the roads, fords, stream depths, river bank, and river depth before withdrawing to Mechanicsburg for the night. Jenkins set up his headquarters in the John Rupp house on Trindle Road, where he conferred with his subordinates and dispatched reconnaissance patrols in the eastern part of the county throughout the night.

On Sunday afternoon, while the State archives in Harrisburg were being packed to be sent off to Philadelphia, Elwell's forces held a large military parade at Carlisle Barracks. During the parade the new Confederate flag was flown for the first time in the north.⁴⁹ The new flag design had the Confederate Cross (stars and bars) in the upper left corner while the remainder of the flag was White. [The new design was later found to have a distinct disadvantage - it was often mistaken for a flag of truce or surrender when it hung limp about its staff.] The design, adopted May 1, 1863, by the Confederate Congress, was first used on May 10th as the pall on General "Stonewall" Jackson's casket. One of the first flags produced was forwarded

to Lee with a request that he present it to a deserving unit of his choice. The honor of first unfurling the new flag was awarded to Ewell's Corps by Lee. Ewell chose Rodes' division, and Rodes selected the 32nd NC Infantry Regiment. During the ceremonies the assembled Confederate bands played "Dixie", "Bonnie Blue Flag", and "Massa's in the Cold, Cold Ground". After speeches by Generals Ewell, Rodes, Daniel, and others, the band presented a concert for the assembled guests.⁵⁰ During the afternoon it rained upon the new flag, perhaps an omen of the storm forming over the Confederacy.

General Rodes and his staff hosted a dinner that evening at the Barracks, using Captain Hastings' linen and tableware.⁵¹ Among the guests was Maj Gen Isaac Ridgeway Trimble, who had arrived to visit Ewell during the day from General Lee's headquarters in Chambersburg. Old-soldier Trimble (USMA - 1822), just returned to active duty from serious wounds suffered at Manassas, was chafing at the bit for a combat command. He had asked Lee, but only the newly created Cumberland Valley District, which would consist of Jenkins's Brigade and miscellaneous Maryland troops, was available. Declining the position, Trimble had ridden to Carlisle to offer his services as an advisor to Ewell. Trimble believed his intimate knowledge of the area, acquired when he had been the civilian chief engineer for several of the major railroads in Pennsylvania and Maryland, could be of valuable assistance in the campaign. Trimble also relayed Lee's urging that II Corps speed up the attack planned on Harrisburg. Ewell said he would start before Tuesday morning, after proper reconnaissance had been accomplished.

Harrisburg was gripped with overwhelming fear of invasion. Special trains were placed in service to carry the surge of people attempting to leave town for the east. Home guard units were formed to help the Militia perform guard

duty. Spies were reported everywhere, even though only one was actually caught as he was taking soundings to measure the depth and currents of the Susquehanna.⁵² All military forces in the Harrisburg area were placed on full alert; the 23rd, 52nd, and 56th Regts, NYSNG, were marched out of their camps during the night to perform picket duty on the West Bank forward of Fort Washington. Couch ordered the troops to prepare the bridges in the vicinity for burning should the enemy appear in force and attempt to capture them. At 10 PM that night Lee dispatched an order directing Ewell to break contact with the enemy and move to Chambersburg.⁵³

At 0730 hours on Monday, June 29th Lee revised the order, based upon reports about enemy movements, and directed Ewell to move directly to Gettysburg. Ewell's corps was ordered to march via Heidlersburg to avoid already congested roads.⁵⁴ A patrol was dispatched with orders to locate Ewell in or near Carlisle as soon as possible and deliver the message.

Capt Richardson reported to Ewell at Carlisle Barracks at midday that he had found the approaches to Harrisburg to be clear. Ewell, who was not yet in receipt of Lee's latest order, planned to move his corps forward after lunch; he told Rodes to prepare his division to lead the advance.

At noon it started to rain in Carlisle; at about 3 PM a horse arrived at Carlisle Barracks carrying the messenger with the previous day's 10 PM order from Lee. After reading the order Ewell informed the staff that Lee had countermanded his previous instructions. The corps now was to turn immediately and move south.⁵⁵ Arrangements were made to inform subordinate commanders at once. Hotchkiss, Ewell's map maker, was summoned and told to start making maps of the Gettysburg area. Hotchkiss noted that for the remainder of the day Ewell was testy and hard to please.

obviously disappointed that he would not get a crack at Harrisburg⁵⁶

A force of between 150-200 men from Rodes' Division was sent to dismantle the railway bridge over the LeTort and to destroy the track on the east side of the stream. After the bridge was partially dismantled, the timbers and rail ties from a quarter-mile of torn up track were stacked and burned in several fires. The iron rails were thrown on top the fires to heat and warp; when hot they were wrapped around telegraph poles to insure they were unusable. The destruction of the rail line drew a large crowd of Carlisle residents who silently watched the Rebels at work but offered no resistance. The fires from the timbers continued to smolder for several days after the departure of Ewell's troops, laying a pall of smoke over the east side of town.⁵⁷

The rain continued throughout the night as Ewell's Corps prepared to depart from Carlisle. Rodes' division started moving out of town at 3 AM the next morning, Tuesday, June 30th. Ewell and Trimble travelled with Rodes' Division as it made its way over South Hanover street in the direction of Papertown (Mount Holly Springs). Ewell looked drawn and tense sitting in his "Rockaway" carriage drawn by two horses. Some persons in the crowd that gathered early in the morning at the Public Square to watch their departure openly jeered the southern soldiers.⁵⁸ The fife and drum corps of the marching regiments played "Dixie" and "Nellie Gray" as they bade farewell to Carlisle. It was 8 AM before all of Rodes' infantry had cleared the town. Ramseur's Brigade, constituting the Corps' rear guard, herded several hundred head of cattle and horses before it. Company A, 1st Maryland Cavalry was left in Carlisle by Ewell to release 1000 Union prisoners and to perform Provost duty. The company accompanied Jenkins that evening when he moved south.

Johnson's division had already withdrawn by the same route it had advanced, acting upon Lee's first order. Because of a circuitous route that it had to march and intermingling with Longstreet's Corps near Greenwood, the division did not arrive at Gettysburg until 9 PM on July 1st, too late to influence the first day's battle.

Before he departed from Carlisle Barracks, Ewell left a letter addressed to Hastings' wife, who he believed to be a Georgia native; in the letter he explained that he had spared her table linen and towelings on account of her Southern birth.⁵⁹ Later, Ewell was to write about Carlisle Barracks, "Agreeably to the views of the General Commanding, I did not burn Carlisle Barracks."⁶⁰

III

At 10 AM on June 30th Ewen was ordered by Smith to form a provisional NYSNG brigade consisting of the 22nd and 37th Regts. with one company each added from the 8th, 23rd, and 56th Regts. plus Landis' Philadelphia artillery battery. The brigade was to proceed immediately from Camp Russell to division headquarters at Bridgeport to be briefed on a special mission. In forming the force, Ewen directed that the troops carry only their weapons and their canteens, plus three crackers [hardtack] for rations, since he had been told they would be gone for only about four hours. At headquarters Ewen was told to advance east on the Carlisle Pike to intercept a Confederate cavalry unit operating in the area. The brigade, accompanied by Smith and his staff, marched east on the Pike for about three miles but found no sign of the enemy. It had turned and started to return to Bridgeport when a squad of Stanwood's cavalry galloped up with word they had found enemy cavalry a bit further out along the Pike. Ewen turned the troops about and advanced to the

vicinity of Sporting Hill where, at 4 PM, they encountered enemy rifle and artillery fire. Ewen's Infantry, supported by the 2nd Section of Landis' Battery under Lieut. King, plus Stanwood's Regulars, returned the enemy fire, wounding several and driving off the Rebels in about an hour. It was the first time most of the Union force had fired their weapons in combat--for many, the first time they had ever fired a weapon in their lives. About twenty of Ewen's men were wounded; the enemy force from Jenkins's cavalry lost several killed and more than twenty wounded during the brief encounter.⁶¹

Ewen's NYENG Brigade withdrew to Oyster Point, where it was intercepted by Smith with new orders for the brigade - to turn about and march to Carlisle. Because his men were without packs and had gone without food and with little water all day, Ewen decided to delay movement from Oyster Point to await the arrival of the supply wagons. The troops lay down in the fields and tried to sleep in the drizzling rain; without pup-tents and blankets it proved to be an unpleasant night for them to bivouac. At about 2 AM the following morning the wagons finally arrived with hard tack and coffee for the uncomfortable troops, most of whom had gotten little sleep.

Some of Jenkins' cavalry passed through Carlisle at about 11 AM that Tuesday, headed south. It rained during the afternoon in Carlisle, but the rain did not dampen the spirits of Cochran's 14th VA Cavalry, they entered Carlisle at about 3 PM on York Road, celebrating on home brew they had "liberated". The drunken troops were soon completely out of control, some riding wildly through the streets, yelling and brandishing their sabers at anyone who appeared. Finally exhausted, they moved to the college campus, tethered their horses and pitched their pup-tents. A committee of concerned citizens visited Cochran and asked him to restrain his troops. He agreed, but

order was not restored until Jenkins arrived later that evening. As others have speculated perhaps Jenkins' brigade had been forgotten by Ewell's staff during the withdrawal and Jenkins was attempting to learn what was happening. About midnight the remainder of Jenkins's Brigade departed from Carlisle for Gettysburg. The occupation of Carlisle was finally over.

On the morning of July 1st Carlisle residents cautiously surveyed the damage to their town. They found it littered with manure, the carcasses of butchered cattle, smoldering fires, downed trees and telegraph poles. The streets were deeply rutted from the heavy traffic. Many of the citizens began cleaning their streets, seeking to restore the town to normal. However, several hundred people, including a gang of ne'er-do-wells, went to Carlisle Barracks to see in what state it had been left. At the Barracks the rougher elements stole or destroyed the books, papers, clothing, furniture and bedding that had been left behind by the Confederates.⁶² Not yet satisfied, they proceeded to loot the abandoned farms and houses in the area.

Nearly 200 Confederate deserters came out of hiding after the departure of Ewell's Corps; some had been given sanctuary by local sympathizers, others had hidden in the fields and mountains. A small band of Union soldiers who had taken refuge in the loft of the spring house and distillery of the John Capiello (Wilson House) also emerged from their hiding places.

In a telegram dated June 30th Union Army General-in-Chief Henry W. Halleck ordered Couch to make every possible effort to hold the enemy in check on the Susquehanna until General Meade, who was advancing from Washington, could give battle. Couch advised Halleck on that date that the enemy was falling back from Carlisle to Chambersburg and Gettysburg or Hanover to give battle.⁶³

Capt Boyd and his 120 man (Lincoln) cavalry company spent the night of June 30th bivouacking at Churchtown, a few miles southeast of Carlisle. At daybreak on the morning of July 1st the company cautiously entered Carlisle on Trindle Springs road to a tumultuous welcome from the citizens. After feeding his troops and horses, Boyd led his company through the town toward the South Mountains in the direction the Rebels had taken.⁶⁴

Ewen's 4th (NYSNG) and Brisbane's 5th (PA Militia) Brigades were awakened early July 1st and told to prepare to make a forced march on the Turnpike to Carlisle, about sixteen miles east. The 4th NYSNG brigade was to lead the march, followed by Landis' artillery battery and a section from Miller's Battery. The 5th PA Militia brigade, starting about an hour later, would bring up the rear. Hastings' cavalry would patrol to the front and flanks during the march.

The remaining brigades of the division, supported by Miller's Battery and Frishmuth's Company L, 32nd PA Militia Regt, (an artillery battery, with four privately owned cannons), would remain at Bridgeport under the command of Knipe, until called forward by Smith. Couch temporarily retained these combat troops for the defense of the Harrisburg area, should the Confederate cavalry return. Knipe and the remainder of the units would be sent forward after Smith had either engaged the enemy at Carlisle or determined that the Confederate forces had definitely withdrawn.

The men from Ewen's (NYSNG) Brigade were issued three crackers each, the only food available. At 4 AM two companies of skirmishers from the 22nd Regt stepped off on the Carlisle Turnpike, followed by the 37th Regt, which was in turn followed by the remainder of the 22nd Regt. At first the marching column set a fast pace on the dirt road, since it was a beautiful day. But the

day got progressively warmer until at 10 AM it was blistering hot-- the sun beating down upon the plodding men and not a breeze stirring. Canteens were soon empty but the march continued at a fast pace, the men scrambling to get drinking water from the nearby wells or from the few streams they passed.

The 5th (PA Militia) Brigade, following behind, was caught in a cloud of dust stirred up from the highway, where it lay ankle deep in places. The men of Brisbane's Brigade were instructed to fire and reload their muskets on the march to clear them, because they had been out in the rain on picket duty for two days. A 50-man detachment from Companies B and I, 12th Regt, NYSNG, returning from picket duty at Sterret's Gap, met the column on the Carlisle Pike and joined Brisbane's Brigade. Most of the the PA Militia started the march rested and fed. But they were carrying their standard issue muzzle loading rifle with 40 rounds of cartridges, woolen overcoat, shelter half, leather belt with bayonet and scabbard, full canteen, a knapsack or satchel containing two shirts, two pairs of drawers, two pairs of socks, a towel, comb, soap, and three days of cooked rations--an average of 44 pounds. This heavy equipment, which the troops had been happy to have in garrison, started taking a toll. However, about five miles after leaving Bridgeport they found an old wagon in which they placed their equipment, pulling it by hand.

The green troops weren't used to hiking, and, having gone without adequate food or sleep, they were soon dropping out of the column. It wasn't long before the shade trees and the stream banks along the route of march were crowded with prostrate soldiers from both brigades. The regiments had no hospital wagons with them, but their few supply wagons picked up as many as could be carried, including Ewen, who had fallen from his horse while inspecting the Harrisburg defenses a few days before and hadn't completely recovered. The

ladies of Hogestown and New Kingston supplied them with whatever bread, apple-butter, and buckets of cool water they could spare as the exhausted troops stumbled through the two towns.⁶⁵

Heat exhaustion, blistered feet, and lack of rest-pauses led to a near breakdown of discipline. Complaining bitterly, some soldiers broke ranks to drop by the roadside, others left their units to loot the empty farm houses they passed (the New Yorkers would be teased later about the unique Pennsylvania Dutch quilts they carried). At one point a major portion of the 37th Regt, NYSNG, rebelled and stopped in the road, refusing to march any further.⁶⁶ A unit officer grabbed up the regimental colors and ran forward on the highway, urging the men to follow him, shamed, the men fell back in ranks and rejoined the march. The 37th Regt Commander, exhausted by the march and by illness, rode in a supply wagon as did several other officers.

At noon a sudden heavy rain shower drenched the marching men and turned the roadway into a slippery, muddy mess. The troops, wearing woolen uniforms, were even more miserable than they had been from the sun.

Ewen, a weak leader at best, made little attempt to regain control of the troops. Although he had held his commission since 1847, Ewen had never learned to lead troops. A fellow officer characterized Ewen in this way:

Considering his want of previous experience, he did better than could have been expected. He was brave under fire and wise enough to follow the suggestions of those of his subordinates who knew what should be done. But in many ways, he was not equal to the situation, and his command detested him, in many instances, perhaps for matters he was not responsible. Gen. W. F. (Baldy) Smith, the division commander, soon ignored him, and issued his orders direct to the regimental

commanders, which is the best proof of his (Smith's) opinion of his inefficiency.⁶⁷

A spontaneous marching competition between two regiments from the different brigades distracted the troops from their discomforts and helped save the column from completely disintegrating. The 28th PA Militia Regt attempted to take the lead of the column from the 22nd Regt, NYSNG, and enter Carlisle first. The 22nd, in order to hold the lead, marched sometimes in an extended formation, sometimes in a "zig-zag" formation to fill the road from fence to fence. When the 28th attempted to pass in an adjacent field the New Yorkers double-timed to stay ahead. When the column finally entered the town limits of Carlisle at about 5 PM, the men were exhausted. But the 22nd troops had retained their slim lead.

Smith, who planned to accompany the column, was held up at Bridgeport most of the day by the unwillingness of the 11th Heavy Artillery Regt, US Volunteers to join the march. The 11th (not to be confused with the 11th Infantry Regt, NYSNG, which was also in Harrisburg) was shipped to Harrisburg without cannon, expecting to be issued pieces there. Because of the shortage of artillery weapons, Couch attempted to employ them as infantry, a not uncommon practice in the Civil War--which the 11th refused. When the issue had not been resolved by 3:30 PM, Smith, dressed in a gray walking suit,⁶⁸ departed in a carriage for Carlisle, leaving the problem for Couch and Knipe to resolve. Escorted by Stanwood's Regulars, Smith overtook the column and joined the lead element as it entered the outskirts of Carlisle at sunset. Only about 300 of the more than 1200 troops who had stepped off in Harrisburg that morning with the 22nd and 37th NYSNG regiments had completed the march, the remainder having fallen out somewhere along the route of march. The Pennsylvania units likewise had suffered from the heat and marching. Those who completed the march were formed in skirmish lines

but when it was learned the enemy had departed they assembled for parade. Accompanied by their fife and drum corps, they jubilantly marched to the Public Square, where a large group of excited citizens welcomed them. Tables were soon set up in the Square, with the good ladies of Carlisle dispensing refreshments for the tired and hungry troops.

The Public Square of Carlisle is located in the heart of the town. It is formed by the intersection of Main [High] Street, which runs east and west, and on which in those days was laid the track of the Cumberland Valley Railway, and Hanover Street, which runs north and south. Each of these two main streets is 80 feet wide, while all other town streets are 60 feet wide. The two major intersecting streets form a cross, dividing the town into four Wards named after the points of the compass. Around the wide Public Square at this time stood the First Presbyterian Church (NE corner), St. John's Episcopal Church (SE corner), the Market (SW corner), and the Courthouse (NW corner). All remain today except for the Market.

On Main Street, about two hundred yards east of the Square, the quarter-mile long elevated wooden trestle which was destroyed by Ewell's troops had carried the Cumberland Valley Railway track over the LeTort Spring. The LeTort, a small stream, flows south through Carlisle Barracks and along the east side of Carlisle, it had become the east limit of the Carlisle residential area in those days. To the north the residential area extended to the [old] fair ground, College Street to the west, and present day Willow Street to the south.

Smith, upon learning from paroled Union prisoner stragglers that the Rebels were somewhere south of town, decided to stop and keep the troops at Carlisle overnight. He planned to gather the stragglers from along the Pike, rest the troops, and send for the remaining brigades that he had left behind.

Because the lead elements of his division had departed from Harrisburg without a Quartermaster or a supply train, and because some of his regiments were without their haversacks, he considered it prudent to let his support catch up with him. Smith's lack of an adequate force of artillery was another reason for proceeding cautiously. For the present, his main worries were collecting his troops in one place and setting up adequate security around the town.

Ewen had already marched the 22nd Regt, NYSNG, (with a section of Landis' Battery under Lieut King) toward a blocking position south of town. In the gathering dusk Ewen led the force about two miles south on the Baltimore Pike, where he chose a firing position for the artillery on a hill overlooking a broad valley where it commanded the highway [possibly overlooking where present day Leo's Farm Dairy stands]. He then placed the infantry in positions that could both protect and support the guns.⁶⁹

Smith dispatched patrols to reconnoiter main roads entering the town from the south and west, which he considered the most likely avenues of approach for the enemy. The roads entering from the east and southeast were not immediately patrolled because no danger was anticipated from that direction.

Stragglers continued to arrive in Carlisle, so units were hopelessly intermixed. Taking advantage of the confusion, soldiers wandered off looking for food and drink, talking with pretty girls among the spectators, or sleeping in doorways and on the sidewalks. The Public Square was soon jammed with troops and residents, cannons, horses and wagons, tables of food and drink. The 37th Regt, NYSNG, now under Smith's personal command, had been told to take up positions around the Square along with the second section of Landis' battery. Smith had set up his headquarters only a few doors from the Public

Square at 20 South Hanover Street -- in the home of Judge James H. Graham.

IV

"The Rebels are coming," "The Rebels are coming."

The dreaded cry arose around the Square at about 6 PM. Pandemonium immediately broke out among in the crowd. Drummer boys leaped to their feet and beat a long roll on their drums to alert the buglers to blow assembly; soldiers dropped food and scrambled to look for their stacked rifles; civilians, realizing the artillerymen were untrained, helped push Landis' four remaining cannons into firing positions in the Square -- one astride the railroad tracks aimed east on Main Street toward the trestle over the LeTort, two aimed south on Hanover Street, the other one aimed north on Hanover Street in the direction from which they had arrived. Captains cursed and ran about trying to collect the men from their scattered companies, women screamed and grabbed their howling kids to run for home; men seized their horses' bridles and attempted to lead the balking animals out of the confusion; dogs, not understanding the cause of the excitement, ran about barking, adding to the tumult. Young boys, enjoying the sense of danger, crowded forward to find better observation points, to the horror of the adults. Young girls ran for home.

Smith was at the time riding south on Hanover Street in the early dusk, on his way to inspect Ewen's positions. His first indication that something was amiss was the thundering arrival of an anxious courier announcing that the enemy had been encountered entering town from the southeast. Smith wheeled about and drove back to the square to learn what was happening. Upon ascertaining the Rebels were at the outskirts, he prepared to defend the town.

Brig Gen Fitzhugh Lee's Brigade, the lead unit in the column of Maj Gen

James Ewell Brown ("Jeb") Stuart's Cavalry Division, had entered Carlisle's town limits from the southeast on York Road from Boiling Springs, undetected because Union patrols dispatched in that direction had not yet reached their picket areas. Thus, two moderately large enemy forces blundered into one another on a town street in Carlisle. Their encounter was neither expected nor totally unexpected by either side.

The 26 year old Fitzhugh Lee was a grandson of the Revolutionary War hero Henry ("Light-Horse Harry") Lee and a nephew of General Robert E. Lee. Fitzhugh had attended West Point while his uncle Brevet Colonel (Captain) Lee had served as its Superintendent, graduating with the class of 1856. He arrived at Carlisle Barracks in October of that year for two years duty as an instructor in cavalry practice. He was popular among Carlisle families, so it came as a shock to them to learn that he was now attacking the town. Upon joining the Confederate Army as a First Lieutenant, Lee had served as assistant adjutant general on the staff of Brig Gen Ewell, he had then requested and received a commission in the cavalry with subsequent assignment to Jeb Stuart's command. He shared the same enthusiasm and cavalier spirit as did Stuart. A daring field commander in battle, Lee never exhibited any tactical innovations of his own during the war.

Jeb Stuart, a graduate of the USMA class of 1854, was thirty years old when his division attacked Carlisle. Stuart is considered by many military historians to be one of the great cavalry leaders of the Civil War. One of the most daring of the Confederate cavalry leaders, he was relied on by General Robert E. Lee to provide intelligence to him. Stuart had also been a cadet at West Point when Colonel Lee was Superintendent. In October 1859, while on leave from active duty, Stuart volunteered to be Colonel Lee's aide and assisted him in the capture of John Brown at Harpers Ferry.⁷⁰

On his charger with his plumed hat and neatly trimmed beard, Stuart exuded an air of confident gallantry and adventure wherever he went. He was always the picture of a Southern Cavalier. A banjo player and a lover of music, he had his own band made up of the best musicians in the division. Sometimes sentimental, he would join with his officers to sing --to the tune of "Great Big House and Nobody Living" --a Southern cavalry ditty. "If you want to have fun, if you want to be a bully boy, jine [sic] the cavalry". "Riding a Raid", another popular southern ballad written about Stonewall Jackson perhaps best sums up Stuart's philosophy of conducting war:

We are three thousand horses, and not one afraid,

We are three thousand sabres and not a dull blade.⁷¹

Stuart's tactics were in the true light cavalry tradition: the aggressive engagement; the thundering charge of tightly grouped riders, sabers slashing, re-grouping and charging again upon the fleeing enemy. There were no innovations or grand strategies in his tactics; he depended upon surprise, shock, speed, and-- above all--endurance. He disdained dismounted combat and suffered it only when the terrain made it impossible to fight mounted. He was faulted by many detractors for showy raids, but his effectiveness as a cavalryman has never been placed in serious doubt.

When Stuart's Division arrived at Carlisle it was nearly at the end of its combat capability. Its ranks had been reduced by the difficult march through Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania. Repeated conflict and insufficient food and rest for his men and rest for the animals in the past few days were taking a heavy toll. His rations were now expended, the horses were worn out and dropping dead while on the move; his men were numb and exhausted, asleep in the saddle. Men, animals, and equipment were worn out. The normal rate of march for mounted troops, with adequate rest, was estimated at 40 miles per

day, 25 miles per day with wagons. As they approached Carlisle, his men had ridden over 125 miles in the past twenty-four hours while fighting several skirmishes.

Stuart was still smarting from a vicious encounter with Col Elon Farnsworth's Brigade at Hanover on June 30th during which he lost Lt Col W. H. Payne, 2nd NC Cavalry, and 106 of his troops as prisoners. Boyd's company had also gotten in its licks at Fitzhugh Lee's brigade that day by capturing fifty prisoners and a large number of wagons. However, Boyd had to abandon the wagons in order to get away with the prisoners.

But Stuart's major concern as his forces approached Carlisle was not about men or horses. His burning question was: Where were the Confederate Infantry with which he was supposed to link up? Stuart had diverted his force to Carlisle when he had heard that Ewell was there.

Stuart still had with his column the 125-wagon Union supply train that his forces had captured from General Meade at Rockville, Maryland, on June 28th. The train was made up of new wagons loaded with oats, new harnesses, fat horses and mules. Stuart planned to turn the train over to Ewell when they met, but it became a tremendous handicap for his column because it was slow and road-bound. His men had paroled the 400 Union troops captured with the wagon train but had captured another 400 prisoners which they had to take time to parole. In the past day his column had captured another hundred horses and several more prisoners between Dover and Carlisle, which diminished his tactical capabilities and slowed down his movement.

Fitzhugh Lee's Brigade at Carlisle consisted of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th Virginia Cavalry Regiments-- a total of nearly 1500 cavalrymen. They had been in the saddle for nine straight days when they arrived at Carlisle. So they were physically exhausted. For artillery support Lee had Capt James

Breathed's 1st Stuart Horse Artillery Battery, which was armed with four 3-inch rifled cannons and commanded by an aggressive twenty-four year old physician.⁷² Following Lee in column somewhere between Dillsburg and Carlisle was the brigade of Brig Gen W. H. Lee (commanded by Col John P. Chambliss since Lee was wounded at Brandy Station), Brig Gen Wade Hampton's Brigade was still in Dillsburg.

Lieut Theodore Stanford Garnett, an Aide-de-Camp to Stuart, was among the first to enter the outskirts of Carlisle. As he rode around the corner of a yard where York Road joined Trindle Spring Road [there is a traffic signal at this point today - next to the Hess gasoline station], Garnett saw a few Union skirmishers and two horsemen approaching him from town on East Main Street. Drawing his pistol, he fired at them and took cover, they in turn sought cover and returned the fire with rifles.⁷³ This minor action had triggered the panic in the Public Square some few hundred yards westward on Main Street.

Accompanied by some of his couriers, Stuart rode up to inquire of Garnett what had happened, they were also fired on by the Union skirmishers. Stuart later wrote of the incident:

I arrived before that village, by way of Dillsburg, in the afternoon. Our rations were entirely gone. I desired to levy a contribution on the inhabitants for rations, but was informed before reaching it that it was held by a considerable force of militia (infantry and artillery), who were concealed in the buildings, with the view to entrap me upon entrance into the town. I soon found the information I had received was correct. I disliked to subject the town to the consequences of an attack; at the same time it was essential to us to procure rations. The only obstacle to the

enforcement of my threat was the scarcity of artillery ammunition.⁷⁴

At the direction of Stuart one of Breathed's artillery pieces was set up and fired several rounds up Main Street, at a high angle, "to get their attention." Stuart, not seeing any sizeable force in town and not wishing to get engaged in a fight if unnecessary, directed that a flag of truce be carried into town with a demand for immediate surrender. A signal corps flag, with the red center square covered over by a small piece of white cloth, was carried by a mounted staff officer accompanied by a courier.⁷⁵ They were delayed at the edge of town until a Union escort could be found, finally riding up East Main Street to meet Smith. Judge Bowman advised General Smith to comply with the demand in order to save the town. But Smith refused. Stalling for time in order to bring back the 22nd Regt, NYSNG, from south of town and to collect the stragglers still on the Harrisburg Pike, Smith delayed answering the surrender demand. Stuart, also desiring to bring up his column, did not take any further action for nearly an hour. Finally becoming impatient, Stuart sent in another messenger requesting that the women and children be removed. He stated that if the town was not surrendered in three minutes he would commence shelling. Smith returned both messages with his compliments to General Lee but would see Lee dead before he surrendered.

Smith, for all his self-assurance, was prudent enough to dispatch a volunteer aide - Mr Ward - to Harrisburg to brief Couch on the situation in Carlisle. He had in Carlisle at the time over 2,000 troops and about 1,000 men still straggling on the Harrisburg Pike. He requested that Knipe start marching the remaining 3,000 men of the division for Carlisle at 3 AM the next morning. Ward and an orderly immediately started toward Harrisburg, but they were intercepted by Rebel cavalry. Ward managed to escape, but his companion was taken prisoner.

Upon receipt of Smith's answer, Breathed's Battery was given the order to commence firing upon Carlisle. The 1st two-gun section was emplaced upon a small knoll in the vicinity of Ashland Cemetery - on the north side of York Road - near the intersection of York, East Main Street, and Trindle Spring Road [possibly where the Hess gas station now stands]. The 2nd two-gun section went into action on high ground a few hundred yards to the rear of the first [possibly where Burger King now stands]. This firing position was about one and one-half miles southeast of Carlisle Barracks and at a higher elevation. Confederate observation of the town was limited by smoke still rising from the smoldering railway bridge over the LeTort and by the failing light. Breathed's men commenced firing with the 1st section at about 7:30 PM, the fire directed high to warn women and children off the streets. Breathed's 2nd section, seeing the flashes of its own 1st section's guns in the direction of town and thinking they were enemy, dropped two rounds among them before firing could be stopped; however, no casualties resulted from this mistake.⁷⁶ The Union gun on the railroad track, with Capt Landis personally sighting the piece, returned the Rebel 1st section's fire with three rounds. One round hit a nearby tree, killing two men and several horses and wounding six men plus several other horses. The 1st section promptly went out of action and headed toward York road intending to pull back out of range. Observing their movements, Smith ordered his skirmishers forward to cut them off; however, the Rebel artillery escaped and moved back to the vicinity of the 2nd section. The two sections resumed fire as a battery and scored a direct hit on Landis' gun on the railway track, wounding several men and horses and killing two horses.⁷⁷ Landis' men quickly moved their artillery pieces out of the Square to safer positions; the troops of the 37th Regt, NYSNG, also withdrew from their exposed positions on the Square. Smith, deciding to conserve his limited

artillery ammunition for the anticipated attack the next morning, ordered Landis' guns to cease firing.

When the Union forces failed to return artillery fire, Stuart suspected a trap. He was concerned that a regular officer of Smith's reputation was in the town. Also, he had no intelligence on the fighting ability and number of Union troops in Carlisle. So he decided to wait for morning. He ordered his artillery to continue firing into the town, mainly to demoralize the inhabitants and green troops.

Smith assigned the defense of the southern part of town to Ewen's NYSNG, the northern part to Col Brisbane's PA Militia, retaining the center of town under his personal command. He called for the "Home-Guard" to assemble. About 150 arrived carrying their shot guns and rifles. Smith directed them to take up positions along the east side of town, to act as snipers, or "Bushwhackers". Several of these men were expert marksmen--far better shots than the Militia troops available to Smith, many of whom had still not fired their rifles. Among the ranks of the Home-Guard as privates were Pastors Phillips and J. S. Foulk of the German Reformed Church; also the Episcopal Rector, Reverend Francis J. Clerc. Pastor Phillips, the "Fighting Preacher", had served as a Lieutenant in a Volunteer Company earlier in the war.⁷⁸

Meanwhile, Lee had pushed his troops forward as dismounted skirmishers to the edge of the LeTort, effectively covering the east side of town for several hundred yards from North Street to South street. On the east bank of the LeTort they took up concealed positions to snipe at the Union troops in town. Lee's mounted troops moved around the the outer perimeter of the town to the Harrisburg Pike to set up road blocks where several stragglers from the 37th Regt, NYSNG, were captured during the night.

The 22nd Regt, NYSNG, which had returned into town under the cover of darkness after hearing the cannon fire, was placed in company defensive positions by Ewen. Some of the companies were ordered to the east and south sides of town where they took positions as snipers on rooftops, in windows, or in cellars. Companies C, G, H and I were placed as skirmishers, in prone positions, in the open fields. A force of about 200, hastily assembled from stragglers of Company F, 22nd and men from the 37th Regt, NYSNG, arriving on the Harrisburg Pike, were placed behind the sturdy stone walls of the Carlisle Cemetery. They were told to hold the position at all costs.⁷⁹ Other companies of the 37th Regt, NYSNG, were deployed east of the Carlisle Cemetery in the open fields on the west side of the LeTort. They were to act as skirmishers, but were told to fall back into the Catholic Church yard if attacked in force. A section of Landis' Battery was emplaced on lower South Hanover Street (probably on a slight rise where Walnut Street intersects South Hanover Street), one gun aimed to the south from behind a hasty barricade the gunners built for themselves in the street from fence-rails and wagons as protection against an expected cavalry charge, the other gun aimed down an alley directly at the Confederate battery to the east. Company D, 22nd Regt, NYSNG, were deployed to protect the artillery barricade. Hastings and his cavalrymen from Carlisle Barracks were held in reserve in the vicinity of the Rudy Church on East Pomfret street. The troops of the 37th Regt, NYSNG, who had been in the Square, were placed in positions in and around the Court House, they were reinforced there by the detachment from Companies E and I, 12th Regt, NYSNG. Some of the remaining troops of the 37th Regt, plus newly arrived stragglers, were sent to cut trees across the main streets and to build other barricades.

in the streets to impede Lee's cavalry. Men from Company A, 22nd Regt, NYSNG, took up defensive positions in the last house to the south of town which was within a few yards of the Rebels; these troops acted as an observation post throughout the night, reporting upon developments.

The two PA Militia regiments were sent to the northern edge of town to guard the approaches from the north and east. Company A of the 32nd Regt took up positions in house windows along Pitt Street, supported by Company F of the same Regt, posted as skirmishers in nearby yards. Barricades were hastily erected on the main streets. Pickets and scouting parties were sent out during the night from the regiments in the town to try to learn what Lee's force was doing.

Several men from Landis' battery who were sent to Carlisle Barracks to get fodder for the horses were captured by the enemy. A party of men from the PA Militia, sent to retrieve packs from the wagon that had been used to transport equipment from Harrisburg, found much of the equipment had been looted while the wagon was left unguarded during the initial artillery bombardment.

The Rebel battery continued to pour artillery fire into the center of town; some of it deliberately aimed high to cause panic rather than damage. Nevertheless, the guns fired explosive shells which were extremely dangerous to humans and horses.⁸⁰ One shell which exploded against the front of the Court House tore a six-foot-square hole in the wall, a second hit was not as destructive. St John's Episcopal Church was struck several times, and one round burst in the First Presbyterian Church. Several shells were fired into Carlisle Cemetery, but none of the troops stationed there were injured, nor

was there any damage to the monuments.

In the clear moonlit night, movement of the defending forces brought sporadic sniper fire from Confederate sharpshooters. The Union troops had been ordered to hold their fire to conserve ammunition and not to give away their defensive positions. On both sides in the conflict, the soldiers were so tired and worn out that many slept despite repeated warnings from their officers and sergeants to remain alert.

The Rebel cavalry probing the perimeter of the town had found Carlisle Barracks undefended and had occupied the post but found no stores of food or grain. Upon his arrival in town Smith had not had time to send a force there to defend it before the arrival of Stuart's men. At about 10 PM Stuart, frustrated because the defenders in the town refused to surrender, ordered the burning of Carlisle Barracks. Lee directed his men to set fire to all the buildings at Carlisle Barracks, except "Pop" Sanno's house [Sanno had a house and garden in the area occupied by the present engineer shops and swimming pool]. By 11 PM the flames from the burning buildings, fueled by wooden furniture and hay, had turned the sky over the northern part of town a bright red. The Shrom and Delancey lumber yard located halfway between the LeTort and Carlisle Barracks was also torched, probably because the Rebels thought it was government property.⁸¹ The Rebel artillery turned its attention to the gasometer of the public gas works located at the intersection of East Main Street and Poor House Road [Claremont Farm Road]. Despite riddling by cannon fire, the huge gas container failed to explode. But the escaping gas caught fire and burned fiercely; soon drifting sparks from the gas works started a fire in the adjoining stable and dwelling. George Wise, the gas

works superintendent, was finally able to turn off the gas in the main line at the edge of town and avoid a major catastrophe.⁸² Although the east side of town was lit up like day from the conflagration, strangely the Rebel sharpshooters had ceased firing upon the defenders.

When no response was received by Smith from the prior dispatch of his emissary, Mr Ward, he sent his military Aide, Lieut James Dougherty, to deliver the same messages to Generals Couch and Knipe. Dougherty and his orderly also ran into a Rebel road block on the Harrisburg Pike; during the encounter Dougherty was taken prisoner and his assistant wounded. At about midnight Dougherty returned from his ill-fated trip, sent by the Rebels to Smith with a third and last request for surrender. Smith sent Dougherty back with his reply: that the request had been answered twice before, and his answer remained the same - No!

During the night Stuart's men took Judge Line's son prisoner; a sister of the young man refused to leave his side and later revealed that Stuart had introduced himself to her and inquired about Hastings' family and asked her to pass his respects to the Captain and his lady. Stuart also expressed his love for Hastings' daughter, " dear little, Flora, " who was a namesake of his wife. Had Hastings' daughter been there he would have spared the town for her sake, he is reported to have said.⁸³

Mounted couriers from General Lee's headquarters had been searching for Stuart all night. They had been directed from Lee's headquarters to look for him in the vicinity of Carlisle. At about 1 AM on July 2nd they located an officer who knew where the General was and could lead them to him. Fitzhugh Lee, learning of the contents of Lee's message, stopped the artillery

bombardment of Carlisle. At 2:30 AM the messengers finally delivered the order directly to Stuart, who immediately sent orders to his brigades to start at once toward Gettysburg.⁸⁴ At 3 AM three closely spaced artillery rounds were fired at Carlisle by Fitzhugh Lee, "to let them know he was still about."⁸⁵ Fitzhugh Lee's Brigade withdrew through Boiling Springs over the roads it had advanced on. In order to move at the greatest speed to Gettysburg, Stuart left the slow moving wagon trains behind under the control of Col R.L.T. Beale, commander of the 9th VA Cav Regt. Because of their exhausted condition Beale called a rest halt six miles south of Carlisle. He then notified Stuart that the men and animals were unable to go on. Stuart sent back an order that Beale's men were to remain in the saddle all night, if necessary, to get to Gettysburg. The men of Stuart's Division were later to recall that night as the the worst they had ever experienced in their lives.⁸⁶ As they departed from Carlisle for Gettysburg, some of the Rebel soldiers told local inhabitants that they would return by 10 AM that day to resume the shelling. When this news spread, a panic ensued and many people fled from town.⁸⁷

V

At daybreak Smith's troops were marched toward the south in cautious pursuit of the Rebel troops. When none of the enemy soldiers could be found and it was determined the enemy had definitely departed from the area, the troops were marched back to the top of a hill about a mile south of town. There they formed regimental lines in an oatfield, where they lay down in the blazing sun and slept the entire day. At 5 PM they were awakened, formed into columns and marched to an another open field near the ruined barracks, where they bivouacked in the open for the night. Rain soon started and fell in

torrents on the unprotected troops during the night.

Two of Smith's troops died later from wounds received during the night of July 1st: Private Scott of Landis' Battery and twenty-seven year old Private Charles W. Colladay, Company D, 32nd PA Militia Regt. Scott lingered on until late summer before succumbing.⁸⁸ Colladay was hit in the right leg by a cannon fragment as he ran across a street; he was operated on and his leg amputated in Carlisle; he died from complications a few days later.⁸⁹ Those wounded in Carlisle included about twelve military and twenty civilians; in addition, several horses were killed and many more wounded. The wounded persons, plus other wounded who started arriving in Carlisle from Gettysburg, were taken to Dickinson College, where an emergency hospital had been opened in the chapel and recitation rooms. Later, the old Seceder [Zion] Church in West Street, and Carlisle Barracks also received wounded. Several Carlisle doctors, upon hearing of the great number of casualties at Gettysburg, departed for that town to help tend the wounded. Capt Asa Bird Gardner, the twenty-two year old commander of Company I, 22nd Regt, NYSNG, one of the wounded that night, was eventually awarded a Medal of Honor for his actions at Carlisle and in subsequent Civil War battles.⁹⁰

Considering the amount of shelling, Carlisle was far from destroyed. Although Smith placed the number of Rebel rounds expended on the town at 134, it was probably closer to 60.⁹¹ Those citizens who were "lucky" enough to have their property struck by a shell later placed small metal plaques on their buildings that read, "July 1, 1863."

At Carlisle Barracks Smith found only skeletal remains of the burned quarters, barracks, and stables. The Hessian Guardhouse remained unscathed,

as was Sanno's house, the flag pole, the old stable, the bakery and one or two other buildings located at the western end of the parade grounds. Broken furniture, papers and records littered the grounds along with the smoldering embers of cook fires. The troops moving back onto the post pitched their tents and camped on the parade ground.

Knipe, dispatched by Couch, got underway on the Pike from Bridgeport for Carlisle with the remainder of the division during the late afternoon of July 1st. It was still very hot when they started, and the troops carried their regulation issue of equipment plus two days of cooked rations; their baggage was to follow them in the unit wagons. These troops suffered as badly from the heat and marching as had their comrades that morning. The Regimental Song of the 71st Regt, NYSNG, entitled "Nine Miles to the Junction", while not written about this particular march, sums up their woes on that day:

We'd been marching all day in the sun's scorching ray,
With two biscuits each as a ration. . . .⁹²

Knipe's exhausted troops stopped at 9 PM and camped for the night at Trindle Spring Creek; from there they heard the artillery shelling of Carlisle and saw the glow in the sky from the burning of Carlisle Barracks. Knipe personally went forward to seek a way of breaking through the Rebel forces to assist Smith. Finding no practical solution, he returned to his troops to find Mr. Ward had arrived with Smith's message. At approximately the same time Knipe received an urgent order from Couch to return with the troops to Harrisburg because of Rebel cavalry activity reported in that area. The troops started the return march to Harrisburg at 3 AM on July 2nd; after marching three miles to the vicinity of Orr's bridge, Knipe received supplementary

instructions from Couch to halt and wait for further orders. Later in the morning Knipe received an order from Couch directing him to proceed with his command to Carlisle. The troops accomplished this march in hot and humid weather without incident, arriving there in the early evening. Once in Carlisle, the brigade was given the task of burying the numerous rotting carcasses of the dead horses and butchered cattle⁹³ (local people had already collected the hides to sell to tanners). Knipe's troops joined the rest of the division to bivouack that night among the burned buildings of Carlisle Barracks.

A train arrived from Harrisburg during the afternoon of July 3rd carrying badly needed supplies for Smith's troops. Smith had been unable to procure foodstuffs in Carlisle because of Ewell's extensive requisitioning during the Rebel occupation. Several Pennsylvania militia regiments also arrived to fill out the ranks of Smith's Division.

In two telegrams sent to Couch that day, Halleck said:

... all your available forces should be thrown forward to the assistance of our main Army.... His [Meade's] call for assistance should not pass unheeded.

Couch, in a telegram to Smith urging him to follow the Rebels, said:

Halleck is anxious for me to send a force to operate by rapid marches on Lee's flank, in order to distract them, etc. Your movement in the direction spoken of will, of course, be just the thing....⁹⁴

By coincidence, on July 3rd the War Department designated Carlisle Barracks as one of several newly designated reception stations for draftees under the Draft Act of March, 1863, with Hastings as Commander.⁹⁵

The ladies of Carlisle presented the 22nd Regt, NYSNG, with a flag they made, appropriately dubbed the "Carlisle Flag", in recognition of the unit's defense of the town. In October the ladies would send Smith at Chattanooga a handsome silver urn in appreciation of his defense of Carlisle.⁹⁶

At 3 AM on July 4th Smith's Division departed south from Carlisle on the Baltimore Pike to Papertown with orders from Couch to occupy the upper Cumberland Valley to the north and northwest of Gettysburg. He was ordered to follow closely to the rear of the enemy should he withdraw from Gettysburg. As Smith's men marched into Papertown they encountered nearly 2000 paroled Union prisoners who had been captured during the first day of fighting at Gettysburg. The parolees, whose shoes had been taken by the Rebels, were escorted by Confederate guards under a flag of truce. Among the paroled prisoners was Lieut Dougherty, plus the enlisted men from the 37th Regt, NYSNG, who were captured during the evening of July 1st on the Harrisburg Pike. It took Smith nearly two hours to roster and receipt all the prisoners. Before continuing the march, Smith positioned the 37th Regt, NYSNG, in Papertown to block the Baltimore Pike where it enters the mountains. After departing from Papertown, Smith's Division started encountering wagon loads of Union wounded from the battlefield at Gettysburg searching for medical assistance, as well as many Confederate deserters coming down from the mountains.

Brig Gen Hall, leading the 68th Regt, NYSNG, from detachment to High Spire, arrived in Carlisle by rail on July 4th to rejoin Smith's division. Upon arrival Hall found telegraphic orders from Couch directing him back to Fort Washington. Hall turned the troops over to Brig Gen Crooke and departed for

Harrisburg as directed. Crooke, finding himself without orders, horses, transportation, or supplies, sent a message to Harrisburg requesting guidance; he received the following classic reply from an obviously irritated Couch

An order was given to take rations last night. Do troops want me to tell them to breathe ? Always have rations in your haversacks. You want no buggy; you are going in the mountains for a few days. Beef-cattle go forward. Now is the time to aid your country. Let trifles go; march.

D. N. Couch, Major-General⁹⁷

Chastened, Crooke formed up the men on the Baltimore Pike and they started south with what they could carry. The cattle were soon left behind, too slow to keep up with the marching men. The troops later rued that decision when they got into the mountains and could find no food.

Repair of the Cumberland Valley Railway bridge over the LeTort and the railroad track east of Carlisle commenced on July 6th; the telegraph system had been repaired and was already operating. Carlisle newspapers, whose presses had stopped on June 26th, resumed publication on July 6th. The first mail and outside newspapers delivered in over a week arrived for the citizens of Carlisle on that day. Major Wynkoop, Division Chief of Cavalry was ordered by headquarters, Susquehanna Department on July 6th to take temporary command of eleven independent troops of Pennsylvania cavalry and establish his headquarters at Carlisle. On July 8th, having been promoted to Colonel, Wynkoop was given command of the newly designated 19th PA Cavalry (later redesignated the 20th PA Cavalry), Department of the Susquehanna.

Troops D and G, 1st US Cavalry reoccupied Carlisle Barracks on July 11th. In his letter of July 14th to the Adjutant General, Hastings reported that he

had re-established the depot at Carlisle the day before and had found all of the post buildings burned, except for the Quartermaster storehouse and an office building.⁹⁸

The saga of the Confederate invasion, occupation, and attempted destruction of Carlisle and the burning of Carlisle Barracks had ended. Carlisle had narrowly missed the terrible fate that had befallen Gettysburg. Its invasion was a minor skirmish as battles go, receiving hardly more than a footnote in accounts leading to the battle at Gettysburg. But an intriguing question remains unanswered. Did Smith's unexpected resistance unwittingly hold Stuart in the vicinity of Carlisle long enough that he had minimum influence on the outcome of the battle at Gettysburg? We will never know.

What, if any, effect the 1st Division troops would have had on Lee's rear or flank at Gettysburg had it gotten there in time, is intimated at in Smith's report dated July 8th:

My command is an incoherent mass, and, if it is to join the Army of the Potomac, I would suggest that the brigades, five in number, be attached to old divisions, and thus disperse the greenness. They cannot be maneuvered, and as a command it is quite helpless.... I have here about 4,000 men, and I suppose 2,000 have straggled away since I left Carlisle. General Knipe is the only one I have with me who is at all serviceable.... I am utterly powerless, without aid and in the short time allotted, to infuse any discipline into these troops....⁹⁹

On Carlisle's High street residents and shoppers once again watched with a sense of uneasiness as day and night trains rushed fresh troops and military equipment south toward new battles. Likewise northbound trains were again

jammed with sick and wounded soldiers, dispirited southern prisoners of war, and civilians fleeing from the battles.

VI

EPILOGUE

Capt Boyd - remained in continuous combat following the Carlisle skirmish, harassing the retreating enemy at every opportunity. He was promoted to Major on July 4, 1863, with date of rank adjusted to April 3, 1863. Soon after he was invited to join the service of his adopted state, Pennsylvania [Boyd was born in Quebec, Canada of a British Army soldier]. He resigned from the New York Cavalry on August 19, 1863 to accept a commission as a Lieut Col in the Pennsylvania Cavalry; the following day he was promoted to Colonel and appointed commander of the 21st PA Cavalry Regt, 2nd Division, Susquehanna Department, at Harrisburg. As the Regimental Commander, Boyd led the 21st Cavalry (also known as the 182nd Regt, PA Volunteers) in several major Civil War battles and in countless skirmishes until severely wounded at Cold Harbor, Virginia, on June 3, 1864. Boyd was discharged from active duty for medical reasons on November 4, 1864 and later worked for the Treasury Department.

Carlisle Barracks - was reopened by Capt Hastings on July 13, 1863, and continued its training mission throughout the Civil War. Much building and repair was necessary but eventually the post was rebuilt with more and larger buildings. Starting in late 1863 draftees were trained at

Camp Biddle, a sub-post of Carlisle Barracks, located east of and adjoining the (then) main post,¹⁰⁰ generally in an area where the present Post Headquarters, Dispensary, and Fire Station are located. Because of discipline problems, it had a high wooden fence around it hung with lanterns in an attempt to keep the draftees from deserting. Camp Biddle grew and became a separate post in 1864 with its own Post Commander; when no longer needed it was closed and disposed of at the end of the Civil War. In 1871 Carlisle Barracks was dis-established as an Army post and turned over to caretakers. The Department of Interior established and operated the US Indian Industrial School for training Indian children (and some Puerto Ricans) at Carlisle Barracks from 1879 until 1918. The post reverted to the active Army again in 1918 and was expanded, it became at various times the home of several of the Army schools. Carlisle Barracks is today the home of the US Army War College and the US Army Military History Institute. The post currently comprises 403 acres with approximately 300 government buildings.

Carlisle - quickly shrugged off the great invasion of '63 but had another scare in 1864, when Chambersburg was occupied and burned by Confederate forces. The old market on the Public Square was torn down and a new market erected in its place; but this was removed in 1952 to allow construction of the new Court House. The railway tracks on High Street were removed after the last train used them in 1936. The Valley Traction Company operated a trolley to Carlisle Barracks for many years, finally stopping when automobiles became too competitive.

With a population of over 18,000, Carlisle is now dependent upon manufacturing, wholesale and retail trades, and public administration, although farming still thrives in the surrounding countryside.

Maj Gen Couch - retained command of the Department of the Susquehanna until December 1, 1864, when he was transferred to command of the 2nd Division, XXIII Corps. He resigned from the Army on May 26, 1865, to run for governor of the state of Massachusetts but failed in his bid for election. After service as the US Customs Collector for the Port of Boston, Couch held several political appointments in Connecticut, including that of the state Adjutant-General; he died in that state in 1897.

Maj Gen Early - saw action on Culp's Hill at Gettysburg. Promoted to Lt Gen on May 31, 1864, Early took command of Ewell's II Corps and led it in the Shenandoah Valley and vicinity. After his defeat at Waynesborough by General Custer he was relieved of command by Lee. Following the surrender at Appomattox, Early lived briefly in Mexico and then in Canada until 1869 when he returned to practice law in Lynchburg, Virginia. Aggressive, sarcastic, outspoken, profane, irreligious, and caustic to the end, "Old Jube" died in Lynchburg in 1894.

Lieut Gen Ewell - with his health steadily declining following his often criticized performance at Gettysburg, he finally gave up command of II Corps, to Lieut Gen Early, on May 31, 1864, after being badly injured when his horse was shot from under him. He was assigned by General Lee to command the Department of Richmond and remained in that position until his capture by Union forces on April 6, 1865. After four

harsh months imprisonment at Fort Warren, Massachusetts, Ewell became a gentleman farmer in Tennessee, dying there in January 1872.

Farmers and Drivers Hotel - after cattle driving in the valley stopped it was rebuilt, modernized and renamed the Farmers Hotel; it is now a small but popular restaurant named "Fay's Country Kitchen". Professors and students from the Army War College often meet there for discussions of such subjects as the ambiguities of Clausewitz's versus Jomini's philosophies on strategy

Capt Gardner - participated in several major battles in the Civil War and remained on active duty after hostilities ended. Eventually Gardner was promoted to Major and appointed to the War Department General Staff as an Assistant Judge Advocate General; later, as a Professor of Law he taught at West Point until retirement from the Army December 8, 1868 for disability [Beginning in 1885 his family name is spelled Gardiner in official records.] The award of the Medal of Honor to Gardner has been verified in old War Department records; The citation reads:

"For distinguished services performed during the recent war; while serving as a Captain, 22d New York State militia infantry".¹⁰¹

However, a recent US Army official listing of persons awarded the Medal of Honor does not contain his name. Perhaps the medal was withdrawn when the War Department purged many awards made during and after the Civil and Indian Wars because of inconsistency in standards.

Capt Hastings - continued to serve as Superintendent, Mounted Recruiting

Service, at Carlisle Barracks and supervised rebuilding of the post. He was promoted at Carlisle Barracks to Major, 5th US Cavalry on November 13, 1863. On April 14, 1864, a Carlisle newspaper reported that Hastings had confiscated the goods of peddlers whom he accused of selling to soldiers at inflated prices on or near Carlisle Barracks. The following day, April 15th, Hastings was placed on the Retired List by the Army, retroactive to December 7, 1863, on the basis of disability resulting from wounds and injuries received in the line of duty. In August 1864 Major Hastings was recalled to active duty to be tried before a General Court Martial established in Washington, DC, and transferred to Carlisle Barracks. The Court charged Hastings with theft of over \$26,000 in public funds through forgery, embezzlement, and presentation of false official accounts. The accusations involved the non-payment of enlistment bounties to regular army cavalry recruits for the Mounted Service during the years 1862-64. It was alleged that many of the illiterate recruits, who were certified by Hastings as having been paid the missing funds, were in fact dead, had deserted, or had been transferred and had never signed the payment vouchers with their "X"s. As a defense, Hastings blamed the misappropriation of funds on a conspiracy by three of his clerks, but he admitted that he had been lax in reviewing and supervising their record keeping. (A much later investigation of purchasing and contracting procedures at Carlisle Barracks revealed that some of the building and repair services ordered by Hastings for the post had neither been authorized nor paid for by the government). Hastings was found guilty of all charges and sentenced to

: 1. cashier from the service; 2. disqualified for life from holding any US office; 3. ordered to repay the US Treasury \$26,675; 4. fined \$5,000; and 5. given a prison sentence of from one-to-five years, the length of sentence dependent upon his rate of repayment.¹⁰² On January 27, 1865, Representative Dawes of Massachusetts offered a resolution in Congress, which was adopted, directing the Secretary of War to change Hastings' sentence to suspension of rank, pay, and allowances, for a period of six months. The War Department complied with the directive of Congress and amended the sentence.¹⁰³ Hastings died at Baltimore, Maryland, in September 1882.

Brig Gen Jenkins - suffered a head wound during the battle of Gettysburg. Wounded again on May 9, 1864, during fighting at Cloyd's Mountain in Pulaski County, he died twelve days later.

Brig Gen (Fitzhugh) Lee - was promoted to Maj Gen on August 3, 1863, and given command of a cavalry division following his participation in the Battle of Gettysburg. Lee was severely wounded September 19, 1864, at Winchester and three horses were killed under him that day. In March 1865 he became Senior Cavalry Officer of the Army of Northern Virginia. Lee led the last charge of Confederate cavalry on April 9, 1865, the very day that his uncle surrendered to Grant at Appomattox. After the war Lee became a gentleman farmer in Virginia for awhile, he was elected governor of Virginia from 1885 to 1890; then he ran unsuccessfully for the US Senate in 1893. In 1896 he was appointed consul general in Havana. When war broke out with Spain in 1898, he was appointed a Maj Gen of US Volunteers, but did not see combat.

however, he was appointed the military governor of Havana and Pinar del Rio Province. After reorganization of the Army in 1899 he was given the rank of Brig General, US Volunteers; Lee retired from the US Army in 1901 and died in Washington, DC, in 1905.

New York State National Guard (NYSNG) - regiments continued their combat duties in Pennsylvania and Maryland until July 16th, 1863, when they were relieved from federal duty by the Secretary of War, at the request of the governor of New York, to rush home to put down the draft riots and help restore law and order.

Maj Gen Rodes - was commended by General Lee for his actions during the battle of Gettysburg. He took part next in the battles of the Wilderness, Spotsylvania, Monocacy, Castleman's Ferry, Kernstown, and the raid on Washington, DC. Rodes arrived at the battle of Winchester, Virginia on September 19, 1864, as the Confederate troops were giving ground and launched a vigorous counterattack on General Sheridan's forces. He was killed during the battle.

"Major" Sanno - was discharged from his employment at Carlisle Barracks by Maj Hastings for unexplained reasons - possibly age - in November 1863; however, the intervention of influential military friends on behalf of the old veteran resulted in the US Army Adjutant General directing his re-instatement.¹⁰⁴ Limited available records reveal that Michael Sanno served as an Ensign in Captain George Hendel's Rifle Company, 1st Brigade, 11th Militia Division, Pennsylvania Volunteers during the period 1812-1815. Hendel's company was formed from two smaller companies recruited in Carlisle and Mechanicsburg,

Pennsylvania. The company fought in the battles of Bridgewater and Chippewa, it also served at Buffalo, New York, and crossed the Niagra River into Canada in 1814. Sanno was wounded in a leg at some time during this military campaign. Married and father of eleven children, Sanno was well known and liked in the Carlisle area and was active in local politics; he was given his first employment at Carlisle Barracks as Superintendent in 1827 because of letters written to Washington officials by political friends; in 1828 he was given the position of Wagon and Forage Master at the post.¹⁰⁵ Although illiterate, he had his better educated daughter write his letters for him. A son, Michael, was killed in an accidental shooting at Carlisle Barracks in July, 1844. In 1855 Sanno was forced to move off Carlisle Barracks by an unfriendly post commander; he built a brick house on nearby Garrison Lane but moved back on post at a later date. Sanno died at Carlisle Barracks March 20, 1865 at age seventy-seven.

Brig Gen (Baldy) Smith - was transferred from command of the 1st Division in August, 1863 to hold several engineering positions in the Union Army. In March 1864 he was promoted again to Maj Gen of Volunteers and given command of XVIII Corps; he was later relieved of command because of criticism of superiors. Resigning from the Volunteers, Smith was appointed a Brig Gen of Regulars and again promoted to Maj Gen. After resigning from the Army in 1867 Smith became president of the International Ocean Telegraph Company, later, he became president of the New York City Police Commissioners. Smith, placed on the US Army Retired List as a Major in 1889, died at

Philadelphia in February 1903.

Lieut Stanwood - remained in the cavalry throughout the war, rising in rank to Brevet Lieut Col in 1865. After the war he continued to serve in the Regular Army and died in December 1872.

Maj Gen (Jeb) Stuart - saw his Cavalry Division expanded into a Corps in August 1863 following his service at Gettysburg; but, as was the custom at that stage of the war, he was not promoted to Lieut Gen to rank with Infantry Corps commanders. He continued to lead his cavalry into combat until May 11, 1864, when he was severely wounded at Yellow Tavern, Virginia. Stuart died the next day in Richmond at age thirty-one.

Maj Gen Trimble - during the battle of Gettysburg replaced Pender as commander of a division in Hill's Corps. His division took part in the 3rd bloody day of battle in support of Pettigrew's Division on Pickett's left flank. Trimble was severely wounded, lost a leg and was left a prisoner when the Confederate Army withdrew. He was exchanged by the North in February, 1865 and was on his way to join Lee when the surrender took place at Appomattox. General Trimble died at Baltimore in 1888.

ENDNOTES

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³US, Department of Army, Military History Institute (USAMHI), The Carlisle Barracks Collection, Civil War, 1860's. (Carlisle Barracks, Carlisle, PA)

⁴Ibid

⁵Paul E. Zuver, A Short History of Carlisle Barracks, 1734 - 1934 (Carlisle, PA: n.p., 1934), p. 55.

⁶Ibid, p. 61.

⁷Harold D. Langley, "The Grass Roots Harvest of 1828", United States Naval Institute Proceedings, No. 741, Vol. 90, No. 10 (Oct., 1964), (reprint), n.p.

⁸Zuver, A Short History of Carlisle Barracks, p. 93.

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¹⁰War Department, War of the Rebellion, XXVII, Part 2, 218.

¹¹Wilbur S. Nye, Here Come the Rebels! (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1965), p. 217.

¹²Robert McHenry, ed., Webster's American Military Biographies.

(Springfield, Mass.: G & C Merriam Copmpany, 1978), p. 401.

¹³War Department, War of the Rebellion, XXVII, Part 2, 219.

¹⁴ibid., 215-216.

¹⁵Nye, Here Come the Rebels!, p. 155.

¹⁶George W. Wingate, History of the Twenty-Second Regiment of the National Guard of the State of New York, From its Organization to 1895 (New York: Edwin W. Dayton, 1896), p. 159.

¹⁷Captain Boyd, a native of Philadelphia, who was frustrated in his attempts in 1861 to get approval to activate a company of cavalry from Pennsylvania accepted an offer to join the New York 1st (Lincoln) Cavalry Regiment that Col Carl Schurz was forming. Boyd recruited his 120-man company in the Philadelphia area; it was the first company in Schurz's Regiment and the first to see combat.

¹⁸Robert G. Crist, Confederate Invasion of the West Shore - 1863, (Lemoyne, PA: Lemoyne Trust Co., 1963), p. 16.

¹⁹Wingate, History of the Twenty-Second Regiment, pp. 169-170.

²⁰Nye, Here Come the Rebels, p. 231.

²¹War Department, War of the Rebellion, XXVII, Part 3, 914.

²²Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, eds. Dictionary of American Biography, Vol. 6 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1931), p. 230.

²³D.W. Thompson, "Fitzhugh Lee Returns, and Returns", in Carlisle Barracks Collection, Civil War, 1860's, (Carlisle Barracks, PA: USAMHI, n.d.), n.p.

²⁴War Department, War of the Rebellion, XXVII, Part 2, 295.

²⁵W. P. Conrad and Ted Alexander, When War Passed This Way, (Shippensburg, PA: Beidel Printing House, Inc., 1982), p. 143.

²⁶Nye, Here Come the Rebels!, p. 299.

²⁷War Department, War of the Rebellion, XXVII, Part 3, 344.

²⁸Carlisle Herald, July 10, 1863.

²⁹J.W. Sullivan, "Boyhood Memories of the Civil War, 1861-1865 - Invasion of Carlisle", in Carlisle in the Civil War, Vol. 2, ed. by Hamilton Library and Historical Assoc. of Cumberland County, PA., (Carlisle, PA.: Hamilton Library, n.d.), pp. 15-16.

³⁰Carlisle Herald, July 10, 1863; see also: Sellers, Dickinson College, A History, p. 252.

³¹Sullivan, "Boyhood Memories", p. 18.

³²Letter from R.K. Hitner to Mrs (David) Hastings, July 6, 1863, original in the Union Room of the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore; [a copy is in the Carlisle Barracks Collection, Civil War, 1860's, USAMHI].

³³Carlisle Herald, July 10, 1863.

³⁴Letter, Major Eugene Blackford, 5th Alabama Inf Regt, to his father, June 28, 1863, USAMHI, Blackford Letter File.

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³⁶Thomas G Tousey, Military History of Carlisle and Carlisle Barracks (Richmond: The Dietz Press, 1939), pp. 230-232.

³⁷Letter, Maj Blackford to his father, June 28, 1863.

³⁸Jedediah Hotchkiss, Make me a Map of the Valley: The Civil War Journal of Stonewall Jackson's Topographer, edited by Archie P. McDonald, (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1973), p. 155.

³⁹Sullivan, "Boyhood Memories", p. 20.

⁴⁰Nye, Here Come the Rebels! p. 308.

⁴¹Hamlin, "Old Bald Head", p. 144.

⁴²Ibid. p. 143.

⁴³Hotchkiss, Make me a Map of the Valley, p. 155.

⁴⁴Heaps, Willard A., and Heaps, Porter W., The Swinging Sixties: The Spirit of Civil War Days Drawn From Music of the Times, (Norman, OK: Univ of Oklahoma Press, 1960), pp. 45-46. Written by Daniel Decatur Emmett of Ohio as a minstrel melody entitled I Wish I was in Dixie's Land, the song was later adopted by popular acclaim in the south as the unofficial anthem during the Civil War.

⁴⁵Nye, Here Come the Rebels!, p. 306.

⁴⁶Gary W. Gallagher, Stephen Dodson Ramseur, Lee's Gallant General (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), p. 71.

⁴⁷Robert G. Crist, "Jenkins Moves Through the Valley", in The Evening Sentinel, June 21, 1963, p. C-10.

⁴⁸Nye, Here Come the Rebels!, pp. 341-342.

⁴⁹Hotchkiss, Make me a Map of the Valley, p. 155.

⁵⁰Walter Clark, ed., Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina in the Great War, 1861-1865, Vol. II (Goldsboro, NC: Nash Brothers, n.d.), pp. 525-526; Nye, Here Come the Rebels!, 309-310; Glenn Tucker, High Tide at Gettysburg (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1958), pp. 63-64, Hotchkiss, Make me a Map of the Valley, p. 155.

⁵¹Nye, Here Come the Rebels!, p. 308.

⁵²Charles P. Mack, comp., First City Zouaves and City Grays, History of Harrisburg's Leading Military Organization, 1861-1913 (Harrisburg: The Telegraph Printing Co., 1914), p. 49.

⁵³Nye, Here Come the Rebels!, p. 346.

⁵⁴War Department, War of the Rebellion, XXVII, Part 3, 943.

⁵⁵Nye, Here Come the Rebels!, p. 346.

⁵⁶Hotchkiss, Make me a Map of the Valley, p. 156.

⁵⁷Carlisle Herald, July 10, 1863.

⁵⁸Charles Gilbert Beetem, "Experiences of a West Ward Boy", Carlisle Barracks Collection, Civil War, 1860's, n.p.

⁵⁹Letter, Hitner to Hastings, July 6, 1863.

⁶⁰War Department, War of the Rebellion, XXVII, Part 2, 443.

⁶¹Crist, Confederate Invasion of the West Shore - 1863, p. 5.

⁶²Tousey, Military History of Carlisle and Carlisle Barracks, p. 233.

⁶³War Department, War of the Rebellion, XXVII, Part 3, 433-434.

⁶⁴James H. Stevenson, "Boots and Saddles", A History of the First Volunteer Cavalry of the War (Harrisburg: Patriot Publishing Co., 1879) p. 211.

⁶⁵Wingate, History of the Twenty-Second Regiment, pp. 205, 206.

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 207.

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 153.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 215.

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 210.

⁷⁰McHenry, Webster's American Military Biographies, p. 421.

⁷¹Irwin Silber, ed., Songs of the Civil War, (New York, Columbia University Press, 1960), pp. 82-83.

⁷²George M. Diffenderfer, "Notes on Rebel Routes and Artillery", in Civil War Miscellany, ed. by The Cumberland County Historical Society and Hamilton Library Association, (Carlisle, PA : n.p., 1963), p. 12.

⁷³Wingate, History of the Twenty-Second Regiment, p. 222.

⁷⁴War Department, The War of the Rebellion, XXVII, Part 2, 696-697.

⁷⁵Wingate, History of the Twenty-Second Regiment, p. 222.

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 223.

⁷⁷Wingate, History of the Twenty-Second Regiment, p. 239.

⁷⁸Ibid., p. 236.

⁷⁹"Molly Pitcher" (Mary Hays McCauley, nee Ludwig), heroine of the Revolutionary War Battle of Monmouth is buried in Carlisle Cemetery. Molly worked at Carlisle Barracks after the Revolutionary War, washing and cleaning for the soldiers; see John B. Landis', A Short History of Molly Pitcher, (Carlisle, PA: Gorman Printing Co., 1905), p.17.

⁸⁰Diffenderfer, "Notes on Rebel Routes and Artillery", p.12.

⁸¹Hamilton Library and Historical Assoc., Two Hundred Years in Cumberland County, p. 215.

⁸²Carlisle Herald, July 10, 1863.

⁸³Letter, Hitner to Hastings, July 6, 1863. Stuart's wife, Flora, was the daughter of Union General Philip St. George Cooke. Stuart married Flora at Fort Riley November 14, 1855 while he was serving as a second lieutenant in the 1st US Cavalry at Fort Leavenworth. Cooke was the Commandant of the Cavalry School at Carlisle Barracks in 1839.

⁸⁴Hilton E. Flowers, "Wednesday, July 1st, 1863", in Carlisle Barracks Collection, Civil War, 1860's, n.p.

⁸⁵Carlisle Herald, July 10, 1863.

⁸⁶Hilton E. Flowers, "Wednesday, July 1st, 1863", Carlisle Barracks Collection, Civil War, 1860's, n.p.

⁸⁷Letter, Hitner to Hastings, July 6, 1863.

⁸⁸US, War Department, "Third Annual Report of BG A. J. Pleasonton, for

1863", Pam. 9, Civil War Pamphlets, Vol. 261 (USMHI: n.d.), p. 93.

⁸⁹The Evening Sentinel, (Carlisle, PA.) "Carlisle Shelled by Rebels 60 Years Ago", June 2, 1923, p.6.

⁹⁰Wingate, History of the Twenty-Second Regiment, p. 244 and Frederick Phisterer, New York in the War of the Rebellion, 1861-1865, 3rd ed., Vol I (Albany: D.R.Lyon Co., 1912), p. 439.

⁹¹Diffenderfer, "Rebel Routes and Artillery", p. 13.

⁹²Silber, Songs of the Civil War, pp. 38-40.

⁹³Rutherford Ireland, "History of the Twenty-Third Regiment...Brooklyn City Guard", (unpublished manuscript, USAMHI, in The Kenneth H. Powers Collection, (New York, Civil War) n.d. (typewritten).

⁹⁴War Department, War of the Rebellion, XXVII, Part 3, pp. 507-508

⁹⁵Tousey, Military History of Carlisle and Carlisle Barracks, p. 245.

⁹⁶Wingate, History of the Twenty-Second Regiment, p. 251.

⁹⁷War Department, War of the Rebellion, XXVII, Part 2, 242.

⁹⁸Tousey, Military History of Carlisle and Carlisle Barracks, p. 242.

The report submitted by Capt Hastings does not agree with a report rendered by a War Department officer sent to Carlisle Barracks to inspect damage and estimate the cost of repairs, that officer reported all buildings burned except two store houses, the Adjutant's quarters, and the powder magazine.

⁹⁹War Department, War of the Rebellion, XXVII, Part 3, 611.

¹⁰⁰Tousey, Military History of Carlisle and Carlisle Barracks, pp. 251-252.

¹⁰¹US War Department. Official Army Register for 1900. Washington, DC: Adjutant Generals Office, 1899.

¹⁰²US War Department, "General Court Martial Order No. 395", in

General Court Martial Orders: 1864, Nos. 141-408, (Carlisle, PA: USAMHI, n.d.), p. 33.

¹⁰³ibid.

¹⁰⁴"Sanno Papers", The Carlisle Barracks Collection, 1860's.

¹⁰⁵USAMHI, The Carlisle Barracks Collection, 1812-1857.

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